

Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India, June 11, 1964 to January 10, 1966

SELECTED SPEECHES OF LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

(June 11, 1964, to January 10, 1966)

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BOOK ONE

**THE NATIONAL
SPECTRUM**

CHAPTER I

STATE POLICY

1. TASKS BEFORE THE NATION

FRİENDS : The towering personality who was in our midst till but a few days ago is no longer with us to lead and guide us. The last of his mortal remains have gone to join the soil and water of India he loved. Even though Jawaharlalji has passed out of our sight, his work and inspiration live on. And we, his contemporaries and colleagues, to whom was given the privilege of being his countrymen, must now brace ourselves to the new tasks ahead and face the situation the very prospect of which we once used to dread—the situation of an India without Jawaharlal.

There comes a time in the life of every nation when it stands at the crossroads of history and must choose which way to go. But for us there need be no difficulty or hesitation, no looking to right or left. Our way is straight and clear—the building up of a socialist democracy at home with freedom and prosperity for all and the maintenance of world peace and friendship with all other nations. To that straight road and to these shining ideals we re-dedicate ourselves today.

Among the major tasks before us none is of greater importance for our strength and stability than the task of building up the unity and solidarity of our people. Our country has often stood like a solid rock in the face of common danger and there is a deep underlying unity which runs like a golden thread through all our seeming diversity. But we cannot take national unity and solidarity for granted or afford to be complacent for there have been occasions when unfortunate and disturbing divisions, some of them accompanied by violence, have appeared

in our society. I know that these disturbances gave a deep shock and caused great anguish to Jawaharlalji who had all through his life worked untiringly for communal harmony and mutual toleration. Let not people in different parts of the country, however strong their feelings might be on particular issues, ever forget that they are Indians first and that all differences must be resolved within the unalterable framework of one nation and one country. Let us make every endeavour to foster this feeling of oneness and to carry forward the work of national integration which was started with the National Integration Conference in 1961.

Political democracy and the way it has functioned in our country is surely a great achievement. Here again we owe an immeasurable debt to Jawaharlalji for his deep attachment to democracy as a form of government and as a way of life. There is something in our older cultural heritage too. I have particularly in view that enduring strand in Indian life which can best be described as respect for human personality and the spirit of tolerance. I have no doubt in my mind that it is only by methods of persuasion and mutual accommodation and by a constant search for areas of agreement as the basis for action that democracy can work. It is in this spirit that I shall devote myself to the duties and responsibilities of the office I have been called upon to fill.

Of all the problems facing us none is more distressing than that of dire poverty in which tens of millions of our countrymen continue to live. It is my great desire to be able to lighten in some measure the burden of poverty on our people. In this I remember particularly the claims of the most backward sections like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who have suffered neglect and have had to endure disabilities for many centuries. It would be my proud privilege to work for the establishment of a more just social order.

At the moment we are in the process of building up our defences. The burden is a heavy one, but recent events have left us with no choice. There can be no let-up in these preparations, but we are determined that these should not affect our first and foremost priority—the development of our economy.

The main question before us is that of executing our plans and policies and finding ways of introducing the vigour and efficiency that they require.

This naturally takes me to the problem of efficiency and integrity of the administration. Our public services on the whole responded well to the numerous calls that have been made upon them since Independence. But there is a widespread feeling, which I share, that extensive reform of the administration is essential if the tasks of economic development and social reconstruction are to be accomplished. Apart from this, it is essential in a democracy that the public services should be sensitive to the feelings and sentiments of individual citizens. They should under all

circumstances function not only with formal courtesy but in a spirit of service, sympathy and humanity. The administrative organisation and its methods and processes must be modernised if it is to become an effective instrument of economic change. I shall do my best to see that these major problems receive systematic attention and I shall apply myself closely to the problem of administrative reform in its various aspects.

I know that our people are full of enthusiasm and that they are prepared to accept many sacrifices in order to keep the nation stable and strong. But sometimes their impatience gets the better of them and then there are unfortunate happenings which cause pain to everyone. Discipline and united action are the real source of strength for the nation. May I also appeal to the members of the various political parties to lend us a helping hand in the task of national reconstruction ? Similarly the Press can play a very useful role, as indeed they have been doing all this time. Theirs is a position of great strength and influence and I have no doubt that their influence will always be exercised for the public good. We are, all of us, different elements working in different ways towards a common goal—the service of the people. I shall respect these differences, but I shall continue to lay emphasis on the oneness of our objective.

In the realm of foreign affairs we shall continue to seek friendship and develop our relations with all countries irrespective of their ideology or political systems. Non-alignment will continue to be the fundamental basis of our approach to world problems and our relations with other countries. It will be our special endeavour to further strengthen our relations with neighbouring countries. With most of our neighbours we have friendly and cooperative relations. We have problems with some of them which we would like to settle peacefully and amicably on an equitable and honourable basis.

India and Pakistan are two great countries linked together by common history and tradition. It is their natural destiny to be friends with each other and to enter into close cooperation in many fields. Goodwill and friendship and mutual cooperation between these countries will not only be of immense benefit to them but will make a great contribution to peace and prosperity in Asia.

Far too long have India and Pakistan been at odds with each other. The unfortunate relations between the two countries have somehow had their repercussions on the relations between communities in the two countries, giving rise to tragic human problems. We must reverse the tide. This will require determination and good sense on the part of the Governments and peoples of both India and Pakistan. President Ayub Khan's recent broadcast showed both wisdom and understanding and it has come just at the appropriate time. However, a great deal of patience will still be necessary.

It had always been our desire to establish friendly relations with China.

But all our efforts were nullified by the Government of the People's Republic of China. China has wronged us deeply and offended our Government and people by her premeditated aggression against us. Despite our strong feelings about this aggression we have shown our desire for a peaceful settlement by accepting *in toto* the Colombo Proposals. We adhere to them and it is for China to reconsider her attitude towards these proposals, and to give up the anti-Indian campaign that has been carried on in China and also amongst our friends in Asia and Africa.

For the greater part of this century the names of Gandhi and Nehru have been symbols of the movement of subject peoples for freedom from colonial domination. We who have gone through our own struggle for freedom cannot but look with sympathy at peoples struggling for freedom anywhere. Our country has, for many years, been a stout champion of the freedom of dependent nations at the United Nations and elsewhere in the councils of nations. Unfortunately there are still some parts of the world where colonialism remains and where large sections of people are denied freedom and fundamental rights. We would consider it our moral duty to lend all support to the ending of colonialism and imperialism so that people everywhere are free to mould their own destiny.

Our late Prime Minister was one of the founders of the Afro-Asian movement. We conceive of Afro-Asian solidarity not as an end in itself but as a means for achieving certain noble objectives. These are : to work for the freedom of the people of Asia and Africa ; to build up an area of peace and understanding among all nations ; and to promote economic growth and higher living standards among our peoples. We seek no leadership of the Afro-Asian group. We are content to be humble collaborators with our sister nations in Africa and Asia in the common cause of world peace and freedom of the peoples.

We have always been staunch supporters of the United Nations. As a member of that august body India has undertaken its full measure of responsibility in all aspects of the United Nations' activities. My Government reaffirms its unflinching support for the United Nations. The United Nations is the one hope of the world for bringing peace and freedom to humanity. Towards the achievement of these goals India has played an active role in the past and will continue to do the same in the future.

The problem of problems that faces mankind today is the achievement of peace and disarmament. For countless generations mankind has been yearning for peace. The supreme task facing the United Nations is to ensure not only that war is banished but that war is made impossible. As President Johnson has said, a world without war would be the most fitting memorial to Jawaharlalji. We pledge ourselves, in cooperation with other peaceful nations of the world, to continue to work for the realisation of this ideal.

Before I conclude, may I repeat that I am only too conscious of the magnitude of the tasks before us and the responsibility placed on my shoulders for the service of the people of my country? I approach these tasks and responsibilities in a spirit of humility and with love and respect for all my countrymen. I will try to serve them to the limit of my capacity. The memory of our departed leader is still fresh with us. With him has ended the great age which Gandhiji began and Jawaharlalji consolidated. We have now to build on the firm foundations they have left behind. Let us then bend ourselves to the great tasks before us—building up an India free, prosperous and strong and a world at peace and without war. These would be the most fitting memorials to Gandhiji and Jawaharlal.

2. BUILDING A STRONG COUNTRY

BROTHERS AND SISTERS : As I stand here today I recall how we took a vow to plant the national flag on the Red Fort forty years ago when we were volunteers in the national movement. It was our brave leader, Jawaharlalji, who inspired this idea. We can never forget him. He was one of the greatest leaders of the freedom struggle; and after winning Independence he launched the massive task of India's reconstruction. For seventeen years he worked unceasingly, day and night, to consolidate our freedom.

We all remember the joy and enthusiasm which surged through the country on August, 15, 1947, when we regained our long-lost freedom. For seventeen years, you witnessed every year the unforgettable scene of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru standing at this spot and unfurling the national flag. We cannot forget the dignity and courage with which he led the country. He became a part of our life. Now he is no longer with us. His inspiring voice is mute but he has left us an invaluable heritage which we must preserve. We have to surmount the difficulties that face us and work steadfastly for the happiness and prosperity of our country.

The food problem has become very acute during the last month and a half. The States of U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat and a part of Rajasthan are facing food scarcity. I can assure you that we are doing our best to meet this situation. We have rushed foodgrains from surplus States like Punjab, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh and also from imported stocks. Though we are not yet out of the woods, there has been a perceptible improvement. We will have to

intensify our efforts during the coming months. We will also have to limit our consumption and help to feed those of our countrymen who are less fortunate than ourselves. We should not store foodgrains in excess of our requirements. I am confident that we will face this problem with courage and far-sightedness. We will have to stop lavish feasts during the coming two or three months. Ministers will not participate in feasts and will not hold any parties. This may not result in much saving of foodgrains but it will have a psychological effect and set a good example before the people.

The basic question to which we have to address ourselves is that of increasing the production of foodgrains. I do not want to go into the details of the steps we are going to take. Broadly, we want to assure a fair price to the producers and procure grain without causing hardship. I am sure we will be able to improve our position considerably within a year or two.

I do not want to minimise the other problems that face us. The prices of everyday necessities like cloth, oil, sugar and matches have risen. This has naturally affected the farmer also. During the last 15 years we have invested Rs. 20,000 crores in our development plans. Unless this huge investment results in a corresponding increase in production, it is bound to lead to inflation and high prices. We will have to devise steps to arrest rising prices. There is no question of going back on our objective of establishing a new revolutionary society but we will have to take firm action to control prices. I am confident that the Government will be able to find a way out of the present economic difficulties.

I want to ensure that essential commodities are available at fair prices during the coming years. I am not very much concerned about the prices of luxury goods but I do want the common man to be able to get food, cloth and articles of everyday use at a fair price. Every shop will have to display a price-list and Government officials will have to enforce it strictly.

We want peace at home and abroad. We have to pay particular attention to our relations with our neighbours. The Chinese invaded our country. Their attitude has not changed. Therefore we cannot change our attitude either. In consonance with the principles laid down by Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji we are always prepared to hold talks, consistent with our dignity and self-respect; but our country is not going to bow down to any threat of force or of an atomic bomb. We are confident of the strength of our people, and are capable of facing every danger. I am happy that President Ayub Khan has expressed friendly sentiments. I welcome his plea for amity between India and Pakistan. We also desire amity. Border incidents are not good either for Pakistan or for India. It also does not redound to our credit that we are not able to stop the migration of lakhs of people from across the border. I hope that we shall be able to hold talks within the next few months and create

an atmosphere of goodwill which may lead to a settlement.

We have friendly relations with our neighbours—Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan. Some problems do crop up sometimes. I am happy that the Prime Minister of Ceylon has accepted our invitation to come here during October. I am confident that we will be able to find a solution to the problem of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon. Our Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, is going to Burma, and I hope he will be able to resolve the present difficulties with that country.

Jawaharlalji showed us the path of peace. We will work for world peace with all our strength. We will steer clear of alignment with power blocs and pursue an independent policy. We adhere to the policy of non-alignment, co-existence, disarmament, anti-colonialism and anti-racism. We are firmly opposed to colonialism and we want to see the end of Portuguese colonialism. We cannot tolerate racial policies, whether in South Africa or elsewhere. We stand for truth and justice, not in an aggressive manner but with dignity and restraint.

We can win respect in the world only if we are strong internally and can banish poverty and unemployment from our country. Above all we need national unity. Communal, provincial and linguistic conflicts weaken the country. Therefore, we have to forge national unity. I appeal to all to work for national unity and usher in a social revolution to make our country strong.

In the ultimate analysis, the strength of the country does not lie in material wealth alone. A country is made strong by people like Gandhi, Jawaharlal and Tagore; by the force of character and moral strength. Therefore, I appeal to our young men to inculcate in themselves discipline and character and work for the unity and advancement of the nation. If our young men and women work in this spirit, I have no doubt that the future of our country will be bright.

3. NATIONAL OBJECTIVES REMAIN UNCHANGED

THE MAIN POINT before us today is : How do we deal with the present food situation? There is no doubt that we have to take two steps. Firstly, we have to collect foodgrains from within the country. How we do it is a separate matter. The second alternative is to import from abroad. At the present moment, howsoever we may dislike the import of foodgrains, there is no choice for us but to depend upon it. If in the course of the

next few months we are able to import a good quantity of wheat and rice, it would be possible for us to tide over the present difficulty.

Fair price shops are very important. But what is more important is that these fair price shops should be managed well. There is no point in hiding the fact that from the fair price shops there is a good deal of leakage. I was told that in one of the States, about 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the cereals provided to the fair price shops was smuggled out and sold in the open market. I might also add that specially in the rural areas the fair price shops have not functioned properly and it is important, of course, that the administration should deal with it. It would also be advisable for the Panchayats to take more interest in it and for other non-officials to keep an eye on the better functioning of the fair price shops.

It has also to be remembered—I have not got the exact figures with me just at present—that we have during the last three years subsidised food-grains at the fair price shops to a very great extent. I think in 1961 it was round about Rs. 15 to 16 crores; it increased to Rs. 21 crores in 1962; it rose up to Rs. 36 or 37 crores in 1963 and it seems that in the year 1964 the figure might go up to Rs. 50 crores. The Government will be prepared to subsidise as much as they can till such time as these fair price shops are essential and necessary.

As I said, there are still some difficult areas which are badly affected, and specially Uttar Pradesh. North Bihar is also in a difficult situation and those areas which have been affected by floods are in a bad way. Even Punjab which is a granary of food for us, for the country, or at least for the northern part of our country, is in serious difficulties, especially in the Rohtak-Jhajjar area and, of course, a large area of Delhi is also in an exceedingly bad way. So, these flood-affected areas have to be helped much. There are problems similarly in Gujarat and in the rural areas of Maharashtra. There also much is being done and I would not say, because perhaps Members from Maharashtra might get somewhat angry, they are at the port and as soon as the grain is unloaded, they manage to keep it with themselves. However, we do not mind it because Maharashtra is a deficit State and if they manage to get foodgrains in some way or the other we should not resent it.

Apart from this problem of flood, what is more important is the water-logging in Punjab and in parts of U.P. and in some other States. I think that if the problem of water-logging is solved in Punjab, we may get about two lakh tonnes or at least about a lakh tonnes of wheat from that area. It is a very fertile area, but large tracts are unculturable or have become unculturable because of water-logging. It is not even possible for them to sow their rabi crops. Formerly, of course, when an area was affected by floods, the kisan was not able to sow the kharif crop or the kharif crop sown was damaged, but they depended upon the rabi crop. But in the

flood-affected areas, the situation has come to such a pass that there is the danger of their not being able to sow even the rabi crops. In the water-logged areas the things are still worse. As I said, for years together, they have not been able to produce anything.

I am referring to this matter because I feel that very special attention is called for by the different departments concerned. I do not know, but I am merely expressing the view of an expert or a great engineer. He has said that because of the canals which have been constructed during the last few years, and some of the bridges of the railways or the culverts of the railways and also because of some roads which have been built, many areas have been affected, and because of there being no co-ordination between the different departments, water-logging persists or it has resulted in continued water-logging.

I am sorry I am critical of the Government or of the administration, but I can with my own experience say that no department is prepared to shoulder the responsibility. If you mention it to the railways, they say, "We have nothing to do with it; the bridges or the culverts were built long back." If you go to the Transport Ministry, they will say, "Well, the roads are all right, and, therefore, there should be no problem." If you refer to the Irrigation Department, of course, they are a law unto themselves.

I am accepting it; I have myself said that; I should be held responsible for that. But what I want to emphasise is that the administration has to realise its responsibility in this matter. This kind of working in watertight compartments between one department and another must go.

I think the responsibility must be fixed, and we cannot function in the present manner. It is not that I am mentioning it here only. In fact, when I met the Secretaries of all the Ministries, I emphasised this fact and I appealed to them and also advised them that there should be better co-ordination. We are a very big and vast Government, and naturally, every Ministry is becoming bigger and bigger. It becomes, therefore, essential that there should be proper co-ordination.

I would like only to add one more sentence, namely, that it is essential that loading, unloading and also quick despatch to different areas should be expedited and arranged efficiently. Of course, as regards loading and unloading, it will be the ports which are mainly concerned. Then come the railways. Things have considerably improved during this period. There has been quick loading and unloading. As regards labour, there was some difficulty, but they have responded well and the railways have also carried on their work efficiently and effectively during this period.

This is, of course, for the short period, if we are thinking of the short-term. As I said, I do not want to take a complacent view. I think our responsibility is very great and I see difficult days ahead, at least for these two months—September and October. Till the new harvest has come, there will be difficulties ahead.

As for the imports which are to come, there has been some delay because of difficulties in the American ports. Yet, several countries have helped us in diverting their ships to India and it would, therefore, be possible for us to get adequate food during the third week of this month.

Eventually, what is most important is increased production of foodgrains. Towards this end, I would merely mention two new steps which we propose to take. There is the production side of it and there is the distribution part. In so far as production is concerned, the Food Minister has announced that we want to fix the price of foodgrains for producers. This is a revolutionary step. It has not been done so far, although we have been thinking about it for some time. Yet I cannot ignore what Dr. Lohia said the other day that if we give higher prices to the producer, it would mean constant increase in or higher price of foodgrains. It is an aspect of this problem which will have to be carefully considered. It is desirable that this matter should be considered by an objective authority, by an objective body, a body of experts which should consider the question of fixation of price for an *ad hoc* announcement, because we do not want to delay the matter much. The prices for rabi crops have to be announced soon, because sowing will begin some time in the month of November, or slightly earlier or later in some places. Therefore, the announcement for the rabi crops about the price for the producer has to be made soon. We have appointed a committee of some of our experts and officials here at the Centre, with Shri L. K. Jha as its Chairman, and Finance, Food and other Ministries concerned are all represented on it. Their report will be submitted, I think, in the next week in so far as producer's prices are concerned. By the end of this month, I hope, they will also be able to submit their report in regard to the prices to be fixed for wholesalers and retailers. This work has also been referred to them. This is a difficult task, no doubt. But this committee, at least for the next year, will do this task. After that, I hope in the month of January, the Prices Commission will be set up, and it would be a permanent body, and will, of course, continue to do this work in future.

May be, mechanised farming, etc., is good; and we may have Suratgarh farms, not one but others also. We should have them as experimental, demonstration farms. It would also help us in adding to our present food production but, by and large, it is not possible for the cultivator to take to mechanised farming. I fear that if we do that, we will have to import machinery from outside in large quantities and we will have to add to our loans and to our foreign exchange. And, secondly, if we take to mechanised farming, etc., now, difficulties will arise as there is no technical personnel available; some are there, but if we do it in a large measure, unless we have got the personnel, the result would be that this machinery will continue lying unused for months and months together. So, instead of being beneficial to the kisans, it would be definitely harmful.

*Being sworn in as
Prime Minister on
June 11 1964*



First Broadcast to the Nation as Prime Minister





Addressing the National Development Council



Speaking at the Chief Ministers' Conference on the food situation in the country

*Receiving an honorary
degree at a special
convocation of Aligarh
Muslim University*



With a group of young folk dancers



A touch of Bhangra



At work



Donning the cap used by hill people

As I said, we may go in for this at a later stage, but just at present what is needed is that the kisan should get water, better seeds, manures and necessary credit facilities. If we can give these things to the kisan, I have absolutely no doubt that he will produce the results.

I remember very well what Pandit Jawaharlalji used to say that he did not want big bulldozers, tractors, etc. He only wanted to give the kisan slightly improved ploughs and other improved implements which could be produced in this country. If any repairs, etc., were necessary, he said the kisans themselves could do it, or people should be taught and trained to take to that work. I feel exactly the same way, and, therefore, I would suggest that the Government should concentrate on this. The community development blocks, during the next few years, should concentrate on increased food production and nothing else. They can, of course, do other things, but the main part of their work would be helping the kisans to increase their production. I would go even to the length of suggesting that it should be the responsibility of the community development officers to survey each and every field. There should be a proper survey made as to what has been the production of a particular field, what progress was made during the next six months; or if there was no progress made, what were the obstacles and what were the difficulties of the kisans. Those difficulties and obstacles must be rectified. There should be a regular chart. I do not suggest that we should merely work on paper. I sometimes feel that all the jeeps from the community development blocks should be withdrawn. It may be that I may be making an exaggerated statement, but I feel that unless the workers and the block development officers walk on foot, they will never visit the villages.

Now about distribution. The Food and Agriculture Minister has already spoken about the setting up of an All India Foodgrains Corporation. It is also a new step we want to take. Of course, we do not want to monopolise or create monopolies in the sense that the Government alone will deal with foodgrains. It is an experiment and I think we should carefully start with it and try to succeed. It is in a way State Trading and if we succeed in it we can take another step. It is not a question of any ideology. It is an essential thing and it is the responsibility of the Government to give food to the people at reasonable price. It should be seen that there is no scarcity or shortage. This should be our objective. Some Hon'ble Members have said that we are now going over to State Trading. Perhaps some Hon'ble Members from the Opposition are critical of us. But may I say in a country like Japan, which mostly believes in private trade, the State procures all the foodgrains or rice produced. Not only that. Distribution also is done by the Government of Japan. I am told that 36,000 or 40,000 retail shops—somebody says 54,000 retail shops—are in Japan to distribute them. They do it because, as I said, their objective is to supply foodgrains at reasonable price to the consumers and also give adequate price to the producer.

These are the two objectives before them. It is, therefore, important to understand that as a matter of theoretical policy only we do not do this or that. There are various practical steps to be taken, various practical aspects to be considered and then we have to decide as to what is best for the country as a whole. We will not hesitate to go to the farthest length to help the producer and the consumer in so far as the supply of foodgrains is concerned.

I might add one thing more. There is a feeling in the States that they have to depend upon the Centre. This trend has to be changed and a new psychology has to be created in the States and the States should think in other terms. States which are actually deficit will have some problems, bigger problems than the surplus States; even those States which are more or less self-sufficient, if not surplus, can meet their needs and requirements. Even they depend on the Centre and, therefore, it has its own adverse effect on the administration. They do not put in their best effort to produce more because they know that ultimately the Centre will find foodgrains. This is not a very happy situation. Sometimes I feel that, for a few years, if it really becomes necessary, the Centre might take the responsibility of feeding the bigger cities and for the rest of the area the States must find their own cereals and foodgrains, whether this is wheat or rice or coarse grains. The present position is that coarse grain is not generally being consumed and people ask for more wheat and more rice. But if we try, as I said, to introduce this kind of a scheme, cities would be the main problem of the deficit areas as well as some of the surplus areas.

We will have to examine this matter, but in order to change the present trend, if it is essential, the Centre might for a few years say that we take their responsibility for the bigger cities. I do not confine myself to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras or Delhi; there are other cities also, for example, Kanpur, Lucknow or Allahabad or Patna and other similar cities. I hope that this aspect of the matter will be considered so that the States try to become more self-sufficient.

Let me now go over to industry. Whether it is agriculture or industry, they have all to be viewed under the shadow of our Plans. Both agriculture and industry form a vital part of the Plans. In so far as planning is concerned, I need not repeat that it is absolutely essential for our country. If there is no Plan or no Planning Commission there will be chaos. During the last 17 years, the *per capita* consumption of foodgrains has gone up from 13.5 ounces to 15.3 ounces; that of cotton cloth from 10.98 metres to 14.63 metres. This has happened between 1951 and 1963. I would also like to quote some figures regarding the increase in *per capita* consumption of a number of items in respect of which there is every reason to believe that it is not the rich who have stepped up their consumption but the middle and the lower income groups who are now consuming more. Take sugar, for example. Between 1950-51 and 1963-64

the consumption *per capita* has shown an increase of about 63 per cent. In tea there has been an increase of about 27 per cent; vanaspati, 73 per cent; paper, 179 per cent; bicycles, 251 per cent; sewing machines, 244 per cent; and electric fans, 261 per cent.

This will indicate as to what has been done in the field of production. These 17 years have been years of a mighty endeavour by the people of India under the leadership of a great and noble leader, Pandit Jawaharlalji, for uplifting the masses from the abyss of poverty, disease, squalor and ignorance. In that process, certain problems have undoubtedly arisen, but they are necessarily the problems of a developing economy. There is an unavoidable period of travail which a country has to go through in order to attain prosperity. During these 17 years we have adopted for ourselves a democratic Constitution, we have held three general elections which have set firmly the democratic system of government in our country. We are proud of this legacy.

Sir, much has been said about corruption. In so far as dealing with this matter is concerned, well, Nandaji has been good enough to pass on the responsibility to me. Well, it is a very difficult and delicate task but I do not want to shirk that responsibility. It is, however, important that there should be certain conventions. The law is really not very effective in these matters. It is exceedingly difficult to prove a case or to prove the charge. Therefore, certain conventions have to be built up. Once the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister tells any one of his colleagues that he feels there is a *prima facie* case or he feels that there is something which is not correct, the Minister should immediately tender his resignation.

Sir, I also want to suggest that our Chief Ministers hold very responsible positions. They run the whole States, very big and important States—and even smaller States are in no way less important. Therefore, the Chief Ministers cannot also shirk their responsibility. It is neither wise nor good for the Chief Ministers to pass on all their problems to the Prime Minister. They must deal with their own colleagues first. Of course, if they find it almost impossible to deal with them they can certainly refer the matter to me and I shall try to deal with it as best as I can.

I say, Sir, with full sense of responsibility that India is a place where integrity is given the highest consideration and the highest respect. In this country the Prime Minister is, I mean, practically given a secondary place. If there is a good, honest man like Vinoba Bhave I have no importance in the eyes of the people as Prime Minister. Of course, I may leave out Pandit Jawaharlalji; he was a different person altogether. I can say, Sir, that by and large this country is an honest country; this country has maintained certain standards.

Now I would like to refer to what Shri Hiren Mukerjee said the other day. He suggested that I had deviated from Pandit Nehru's policies. If he will permit me to say so, it should not be difficult for a professor to know the

correct position. But since he happens to be a Communist, it is difficult for him to think outside the framework of the Communist idea. May I tell him that in a democracy there is nothing like deviation or deviationist? It does not find a place in the dictionary of a democracy. In a democracy there is every opportunity for re-thinking and freedom for the formation of new schemes and policies.

I said on the very first day of my election, and on more than one occasion later, that the Government of India will continue to follow the policy of Nehruji in international matters and democratic socialism will continue to be our objective in our domestic policy. May I also remind him of what happened during our freedom struggle days? I know it personally at least for the last 40 or 42 years. What happened when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership? There was a complete overhaul, complete change in philosophy, policy, technique and programmes. Mahatma Gandhi completely deviated from Lokamanya Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and Lala Lajpat Rai. Will you condemn Gandhiji for this? I hope Professor Mukerjee will be good enough at least to excuse Gandhiji if not me.

And what happened in the case of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself? In a way, Gandhiji was his preceptor, the guru in a sense. But did he entirely agree with Gandhiji? No. And yet could you find a more loyal and devoted person to Gandhiji than Jawaharlal? I say, he loved Gandhiji immensely and he gave his fullest loyalty to Gandhiji; yet, he had his own way of thinking, independent way of thinking. When he joined the Government, it was not possible for him to put into effect each and every idea of Gandhiji.

Why restrict ourselves to India? When the first Communist Government was formed, Lenin tried to put into effect fully all the policies enunciated by Marx in *Das Kapital*. Lenin found after some time that it was impossible to work some of them. So he announced a new economic policy (NEP) and it was put into effect. It was a departure from what Marx had actually said in his book.

Now, Lenin goes and Stalin comes. What does he do? I need not tell the House—everyone of you is aware—as to what Stalin did. In fact, he was totally different from Lenin. I consider Lenin to be one of the greatest revolutionaries of the world. But if I might say—I hope, I would be excused—I consider Stalin not to be a revolutionary at all. Whether one agrees with it or not is a different matter, but Stalin used the Government machine for continuing his reign over the Soviet land till he lived. For him it was just a struggle for power throughout his life.

Now, let us consider the policy Premier Khrushchev is pursuing. He has censured Stalin—and his policies also—in the strongest terms possible. The basic ideology is wholly acceptable to Premier Khrushchev—in fact, he is the greatest exponent of this theory in the modern times—but he has flatly refused to tread the beaten track and he has adopted a new programme

and technique. I consider Premier Khrushchev to be one of the most distinguished leaders of the world, because he refuses to walk on the beaten track. In the political field situations change, men change, conditions change, environments change and the real leader must respond to the changing conditions.

We do not want to drag in the name of Pandit Jawaharlalji for covering our lapses and inefficiencies. We cannot forget our great leader Pandit Jawaharlalji—our Prime Minister, our hero with whom we worked for 40 years, for about half a century.

But I would like to say that it is clear that we have followed a well-set course for a number of years in international matters. We believe in non-alignment and in the pursuit of peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes. We are equally clear that colonies should not exist and that racialism should be resisted. Co-existence is a wholesome and absolutely sound policy which was initiated and strengthened by our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlalji. We wholeheartedly endorse it and it is a great achievement of the policy of co-existence that in certain matters even the biggest powers are coming closer to each other. Any threat or danger of war would be ruinous for the world, specially for countries like India who are engaged in fighting an exceedingly difficult problem—that of poverty and unemployment.

I must say that I do not fancy the idea of keeping in complete isolation and not talking or discussing with others. We have always tolerated difference of opinion, and I feel pained when I see an exhibition occasionally of intolerance.

I would like to recall what the late President Kennedy said in his inaugural address :

"Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate."

I think that is the best principle which should be accepted by us in this country.

I would like to conclude by affirming our firm faith in democracy and socialism. To my mind, socialism in India must mean a better deal for the great mass of our people who are engaged in agriculture, the large number of workers who are engaged in the various factories and the middle classes who have suffered much during the period of rising prices. These are what I call the common men of my country. As the head of the Government, it would be my continuous endeavour to see that these objectives are realised and that a social and economic order is established in which the welfare of our people is assured.

4. ATOMS FOR PEACE

THE ATOMIC ENERGY commission have been able to build up this Plutonium Plant on their own. It is a great tribute to them.

During the last few decades there has been a tremendous development of science and technology. This holds great hope for a developing country such as India. The leeway of ages can perhaps be made good in a decade or two by determined efforts on the part of our scientists and technologists. Science, therefore, has a special place and importance in our country. Our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, laid the utmost emphasis on the setting up of new laboratories for research. There has no doubt to be fundamental research in science, but applied research is equally important for new improvements and changes in our techniques. I am glad that the importance of this aspect is fully realised by our scientists. The policy enunciated by our late Prime Minister in regard to the growth of science has to be pursued and followed up. We have to utilise the exploits of science in every branch of our activities and I do hope and expect that, despite our difficulties, necessary funds will be found for it.

The atomic energy establishment in Trombay has been a great venture. We are grateful for the Canadian Government's aid and assistance. I am very glad indeed that every effort has been made in this establishment to train up our own scientists and thus build up a cadre of efficient scientists in our country. It is also pleasing to know that the first reactor, Apsara, was established by our own scientists and engineers. They are young and they have a great future before them. Naturally much more is expected of them. I wish them all success in their efforts.

We have developed this plant with a view to utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is essential that this revolutionary technique in atomic energy should be made use of for bettering the lot of the people and changing the face of the world.

It is most regrettable that nuclear energy is being harnessed for making nuclear weapons. This constitutes a grave threat to the world. If there is a nuclear war, God forbid, it would mean destruction on a very big scale, indeed complete devastation. We cannot play with the lives of human beings. We have, therefore, to work for peace.

It is unfortunate that no further advance has been made ever since the signing of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. It is important that this Treaty should be further extended to underground tests, etc. The world is passing today through one of the most critical phases in human history and time is the essence of the matter. If we want to

stop further proliferation of nuclear armaments, the Disarmament Committee will have to be more active and more earnest. And I want to take this opportunity to appeal to you, our distinguished guests who have come from so many friendly countries, to do all that you can to rouse world opinion and world conscience against the destructive use of the mighty atom. The peoples of the world must be made aware of the danger that they face from the possibility of the most glorious discovery achieved by the mind of man being used in a perverted manner for the destruction of humanity itself.

India has decided not to enter this race for nuclear armaments. Asian and African nations have many more important things to do in order to build up their own country and countrymen. We cannot afford to spend millions and millions over nuclear arms when there is poverty and unemployment all around us. India will, therefore, have to rouse world opinion against the destructive use of atomic energy. The Trombay establishment is, therefore, an instrument of peace.

5. ATOM BOMB : A DEVICE FOR DESTRUCTION

IT IS MY desire to have good relations with all countries in Europe, Africa or Asia, especially with the neighbouring countries. We should all endeavour to have the best of relations amongst ourselves.

The production of atom bombs will impose a great burden on the country. It is a matter of pride that Indian scientists have done well in the nuclear field. But it should not be forgotten that the country stands for peace. It must be borne in mind that once the country enters the nuclear race, it will be difficult to stop at a particular point. The country will be committed to a tremendous cost. The choice before the country is the production of the atom bomb or the battle against starvation, soaring prices and unemployment. I do not consider the atom bomb as a weapon of war. It is a device for the destruction of humanity. What China has done is intended to frighten us, to frighten the countries of South-East Asia and to create an impression on the African countries. Need we be frightened ? If we are, China will be the gainer. I cannot say about other countries but India must take a definite stand and show to China and the world that she is not going to be demoralised by the Chinese explosion.

The country has been trying to tide over one situation after another during the last few months. Luckily, the current kharif crop has been very good. There has been a bumper rice crop. It will start coming to the market soon. During the next two months, the position will be easier. But, we have to take a long range view of things and plan for at least the next two or three years. It is necessary to build reserve stocks of both rice and wheat.

The most important task is to help the agriculturist produce more. For its part, the Government will assist him with good seeds, manure, irrigation facilities and agricultural credit.

6. NUCLEAR AND OTHER POLICIES

PRIME MINISTER: Quite a large number of subjects have been suggested. About the food situation, as all are aware, for the present, each State has its zone and we have agreed to it for the time being because it has been arranged that the surplus States as well as the deficit States should procure or purchase rice. Of course, some of them are purchasing coarse grains as well. We want this arrangement to continue. Surplus States have decided to procure two million tonnes of rice and about a little over four lakh tonnes had been procured till the end of December. The deficit States are also, as I said, trying to build up some kind of reserve by making purchases or by procuring rice. On the whole, the rice position is satisfactory. There have been and there are difficulties in Gujarat and Maharashtra but they have been assured enough supplies from the Centre both of rice as well as of wheat. Recently we have also agreed to send supplies including coarse grains to Gujarat and Maharashtra from Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and this will, I do hope, ease the situation in Gujarat and Maharashtra partly. Even now it has eased.

However, we have decided to review our distribution policy, policy about the movement of foodgrains, etc., in about two months. We will then be able to make some assessment of the wheat crop. At present it seems that there is going to be a good wheat crop unless there is any special damage to the crops in between. If we have a good harvest, a good wheat crop, then naturally we will also try to procure and purchase wheat. If we are in a position to build up a buffer stock of rice, as we hope and expect to do, as also wheat reserves, then the food position will definitely improve. Besides this indigenous production, we have to import from abroad. Recently there has been a strike in the ports of the USA and it

might cause us some difficulty during at least the next month—February. We have been negotiating with Australia and we expect to get about 1,25,000 tonnes from there. We are also trying to get larger quantities from Australia. In order to build up our reserve of wheat, we would very much like to get about a million tonnes of wheat from Australia.

Question : In spite of what was said at Durgapur about food, nothing was said about the other aspect of the question which is population control. Have the Government any plans for taking any effective steps to accomplish this ?

Prime Minister : Well, I do not feel much encouraged to speak of family planning. As I said, I have myself got six children and it is very easy for me now to advise others; but I do agree that it is an important matter. This problem is receiving full consideration. As you might be aware a Committee of Cabinet has been set up to look into this problem and also draw up necessary schemes, especially to see how it could be implemented effectively.

Question : There is a trend among the farmers to shift cultivation from foodgrains to cash crops. What is the Government doing about it ?

Prime Minister : I do not think that it is so. But what is important is that they should try to do intensive cultivation, and increase production in the existing fields and certainly we would like cash crops also to be grown and their production increased.

Question : What is your reaction to the fears expressed by the conference at Tiruchi about the effect of the switch-over from English to Hindi ?

Prime Minister : Well, I think, it is the Hindi-speaking States who have mainly to concentrate on it. But in other States, it is suggested that gradually the Government employees should also try to pick up and learn Hindi. But there is no idea of precipitating matters, nor is there any desire to put any kind of handicap or impediment in the way of those whose mother tongue is not Hindi.

Question : Why are non-Hindi-speaking areas included in the Hindi region, for instance, Punjab ?

Prime Minister : It is a bilingual State; Punjabi as well as Hindi are used in Punjab.

Question : But some of the recent instructions seem to run counter to what you have said now. You have provided for the optional use of Hindi noting, without any English translation accompanying it.

Prime Minister : Wherever there is Hindi noting the English translation will have to be there.

Question : That means whoever writes in Hindi will also have to write in English.

Prime Minister : Either he writes it or somebody else writes on his behalf.

Question : If he has to write in Hindi and English also, that would mean doing the same work twice.

Prime Minister : For some time, during this interim period, what else can you do when everybody does not know Hindi ?

Question : But the same man writing the same thing in two languages would mean waste of time and energy.

Prime Minister : There will have to be some waste of time; we cannot help it in this situation.

Question : If you insist on Hindi-knowing officers to speak in Hindi during official discussions it will be a handicap to other people, to those officers who do not know Hindi.

Prime Minister : Most of the people understand Hindi. They may not be able to write it or even speak.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, there seems to be a wide feeling among people in your country, judging from newspaper editorials and what the politicians say, that your leadership is not forceful. They are doubtful of what you are trying to do as Prime Minister.

Prime Minister : I would not like to speak about myself. I am what I am and it is for you and others to judge my capacity. I would not like to say much about that.

I think there is an objective before me. We have to bring about a definite change in our economic condition and for that it is not essential that I should try to do something flashy about it, something which might strike the eyes of others. What is essential is steady, definite, positive work and progress in that direction. I have no doubt that we are moving. In spite of the difficulties we have to face, the country is on the march to progress.

Question : Do your Party apparatus and your Government machinery have the people's cooperation in the measure that you want ?

Prime Minister : Without the cooperation of the people whatever we have done would not have been possible, though it may not be to our entire satisfaction.

Question : What about the Government and the Party ?

Prime Minister : It is mainly the Government and the administration which has to implement our programmes and policies. And I think that there is enough cooperation between the officials and the members of the Party. Sometimes differences might arise but for that the Party has the right to lodge its protest higher up. But generally, as I said, it is mainly the responsibility of the administration to implement the programmes and policies.

The Fourth Plan is still in the very early stages of preparation. The Draft Memorandum, of course, you must have seen but it has to pass

through various stages. However, roughly the size of the Plan has been fixed at about Rs. 21,500 crores. But this should not mean that we cannot have a bigger Plan than this. But if we want to have a bigger Plan, we have to lay special stress on performance, and if our performance is good and better, then we can certainly review our position on the Plan, say a year or two later, and then decide about modifying the size of the Plan. The National Development Council had also suggested that it should range between Rs. 21,500 crores and Rs. 22,500 crores. It was suggested in the National Development Council that the Plan should range between the two figures but they did not want to make any final commitment till the States had drawn up their plans finally and then there had been further consultation between them and the Planning Commission.

Question : Do you say that this Rs. 21,500 crores is, therefore, the minimum and if there is to be a revision, it will be an upward revision and not lowering the Rs. 21,500 crores figure ?

Prime Minister : You seem to be right. I cannot say that there will be no deficit financing, but at the present moment, we do think that we should not go in for deficit financing and if we can pursue it for some time, the chances of inflationary tendencies getting an upper hand will no longer be there.

Question : In the past, the resources were earmarked but the States could not raise the money. In view of that, how are the States going to behave now ?

Prime Minister : Development means chances of getting increased revenue also. If there is development, if there are new plants, new factories, greater production, then all this should mean larger revenue.

Question : The estimates in the Draft Memorandum are based on the 1963-64 prices. Since then, there has been a 20% increase in prices. Does this mean that the Government will scale down physical targets or raise the financial outlay ?

Prime Minister : The Planning Commission will examine this matter. In fact, the other day, I had myself raised this question.

Question : There have been some reports that the Chinese threat on the northern border has become very acute. Could you please comment on that ?

Prime Minister : Whether it has become acute or not, I cannot say anything about that. But the Chinese build-up, of course, is there and it has been there for some time past. We have to prepare ourselves and we are trying to build up our defensive strength.

Question : There is a report in the Press today that you are planning to write to the non-aligned countries asking them to get some kind of guarantee from the big nuclear powers against a possible nuclear attack by some other country.

Prime Minister : Well, I have never suggested providing any kind of

guarantee to either India or to other countries. As I said, perhaps I have never used that word, either 'guarantee' or some kind of umbrella or shelter. I have never said it. But it is true that I have suggested that it is for the nuclear powers to consider how they can obviate the menace of nuclear weapons. I have not yet made up my mind, but I do want to take into confidence some of the friendly countries who feel strongly against the use of nuclear weapons.

Question : Have you got any response from these big powers ?

Prime Minister : No. As I said, I have not written to them but it is true that they were contacted and we have got no special reactions from them.

Question : Option has been given to the nuclear powers, as you have said yourself. It is for them to consider. If they consider that a nuclear umbrella or nuclear shield is the best guarantee or the best way out, would you object to that ?

Prime Minister : Why put that hypothetical question ? Let them first meet and discuss among themselves.

Question : There seems to be an ambiguity. The Durgapur resolution merely said that nuclear power will be used for peaceful purposes. It did not say definitely that India would not make the bomb. You are also reported to have said something like that. Does it mean that in the future this policy would be revised and that we may go in for the bomb ?

Prime Minister : When I say for the present, this present is a very long period. It is not going to be a short one. I merely referred to what I said in the Lok Sabha but I cannot say anything as to what might happen in the distant future. So long as we are here, our policy is clear that we do not want that atom bomb should be manufactured in India.

Question : You seem to want protection for all the non-nuclear nations, whether African, Asian or Latin American, all over the world. I thought you wanted something for India from the nuclear powers, some kind of guarantee or whatever it may be. They cannot give it for the whole world.

Prime Minister : In fact this is a menace which concerns the whole world and all the non-nuclear powers, and, therefore, this matter has to be considered in a much wider context, in the context of the world and all the non-nuclear countries.

Question : You said it is for the nuclear powers to consider the way of obviating the menace, but I gather that the powers you have made contacts with are non-nuclear powers, not the nuclear powers. Is that right ? Can you tell us which powers or which countries they are ?

Prime Minister : As I said, we did get in touch with the nuclear powers. About non-nuclear powers I have not contacted them so far. However, the most important forum for this is the United Nations and in fact it is for the United Nations to consider this matter and take up an attitude.

I do hope that this matter will be raised at the session of the United Nations.

Question : What kind of action by nuclear powers would remove this fear from, say, India's mind of a nuclear threat ?

Prime Minister : I have not referred to India at all.

Question : No, I mean the whole non-nuclear world. What are the possible ways by which this can be done by those who want to have it removed ?

Prime Minister : Well, it would mean no further proliferation and dissemination of nuclear weapons and also trying to extend the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. Underground tests may also be stopped and gradually we can move in the direction of elimination of nuclear devices and nuclear weapons.

Question : If you are unable to secure the joint action with the nuclear powers, will you accept the unilateral protection offered by President Johnson ?

Prime Minister : It is also a hypothetical question; no one has offered it so far.

Question : Is it not a fact that we are mainly concerned with the Chinese bomb and with no other nuclear powers immediately ? How will you expect the nuclear powers to come of their own accord and offer you umbrella or any other protection ?

Prime Minister : Well, I do think that even the nuclear powers fully realise the dangers of nuclear weapons and they have been discussing this matter in the Disarmament Committee and, therefore, they are very much aware of what their responsibilities are.

Question : We understand that India would move the matter at the next session of the United Nations.

Prime Minister : Anyhow, it is an item on the agenda, and, as far as I know, perhaps at the initiative of India.

Question : Will you like to answer the question of my colleague, namely, about the specific situation that we are faced with, that is, the acquisition of nuclear strength by China ? How are you going to meet that situation apart from consideration of the general question of elimination of weapons from the world ?

Prime Minister : Well, the other nuclear powers will take steps which would be a move in the other direction. It is bound to have its effect on China also. Even China has suggested that there should be a world conference to consider how to obviate the menace of nuclear weapons. Therefore, it is not that China will not consider the pros and cons of this. Naturally, if the other countries, the other nuclear powers, have got a particular attitude, it is bound to have its effect on China as well.

Question : India does not want to produce the atom bomb. India does not want any protection from the nuclear powers. How does India propose to meet the Chinese challenge in regard to the atom bomb ?

Prime Minister : The atom bomb is not going to fall on India tomorrow and, therefore, we need not consider this matter.

Question : Many people thought that India will not be attacked by China; but the attack came. How would you meet it in the case of a nuclear attack ?

Prime Minister : There is a greater danger of their using the conventional army and conventional weapons in attacking India. In fact, it is much more important than the use of atom bomb by China.

Question: Do you support the Chinese proposal for nuclear powers' conference?

Prime Minister: Well, this conference has to be a really representative conference of the world and unless all the bigger countries are agreeable to this proposal, it is hardly for me to suggest that this world conference should be held.

Question: How is it that the Government of India has been advised that the Chinese will prefer conventional weapons to the atom bomb?

Prime Minister: We have not been advised. It is for us to judge.

Question: Is it not true that today the term 'conventional weapons' includes rifles like David Croquett Rifles which have nuclear bullets?

Prime Minister: Do not treat me as Defence Minister to go into these details.

Question: It has been reported today that your Foreign Minister might visit Pakistan towards the end of this month or early next month. Has any decision been taken by the Government on this matter?

Prime Minister: Not yet.

Question: Is there any possibility of an early meeting between you and President Ayub Khan?

Prime Minister: No, Sir.

Question: Are you fully convinced that the talks that are going on in Nagaland are peace talks and not for appeasement which might have a bad effect on other areas?

Prime Minister: There is no question of appeasement. We would like to have a peaceful Nagaland. There has been a good deal of tension and fighting in Nagaland for the last few years. It is possible to bring this to an end and we should certainly do our level best to achieve it. As I said earlier, whatever the talks, they have to be within the framework of our Constitution, the Indian Constitution, and I think that the Nagaland people, I mean, especially the underground Nagas, will have to make up their mind in this regard.

7. WE ARE GOING FORWARD

THE DISCUSSION ON the President's Address was a prolonged one and it was but natural that almost every Member who spoke made a reference to the language problem. No doubt, the language problem assumed a serious proportion during the last one month and it took a sudden turn for the worse, especially in the State of Madras. The violence committed there was something unimaginable. A number of people were killed, murdered and there were lootings, burnings and other forms of violence. I must say that it was most regrettable and deplorable.

Shri Hiren Mukerjee suggested that a new chapter should be opened and we might, perhaps, forget it and ignore it. I can understand the students doing something which was wrong just at the spur of the moment. They might have taken part—and they did take part—in some of these activities. But, as I said, one could understand and take a lenient view of things in their case; but there is no doubt that quite a large number of anti-social elements participated in it.

They were responsible for murders and violence. I do not think that we can ignore those who took part in arson, looting and murders. If they are left alone, unchecked and unpunished, it would lead to a very bad situation and it might become almost impossible for our society to function peacefully. It is, therefore, necessary that the law should take its own course in their case. I have had talks with the Chief Minister of Madras and I do think that he will try to do whatever is best in the present circumstances.

So far as the merit of the question is concerned, I can only say that the assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlalji will be fulfilled unequivocally and without any reservation. I have said it before and I want to repeat it again.

As the House is aware, we have had discussions here in Parliament. We have had discussions outside also with the Chief Ministers and others and various issues have been raised in that connection: the question of amending of the Languages Act, the question of the three language formula and some other points like the medium of examination being all the regional languages. Also, it was said that there should be an equitable share in the services.

These are some of the main points which were raised and they have to be studied and carefully examined. I do not want to suggest that I have no views in the matter. I have clear and categorical views in regard to all these points, but I do not want to express any opinion at the present moment because if we feel that all these points should be studied further and carefully examined, it would be advisable that I or the House should

express opinion a little later when we have received the notes or reports and after their examination has been completed.

However, I would like to say that there could be no question of imposition of Hindi and those who do not know Hindi can continue with English. Even when Hindi was declared as the official language of the Union on January 26, 1965, it was said that English would continue. In accordance with the Official Languages Act English continues and will continue.

The question of regional languages is very important and I would like to make it absolutely clear that there is no question of imposition or replacement of the regional languages by Hindi. It has been said in some places, specially in Madras, that Tamil will no longer find a place in the State either as the medium of instruction or in governmental work. This is absolutely wrong and baseless. In fact, we attach great importance to the regional languages and we would very much like that all the State Governments should use their own regional languages.

Most of the State Governments have adopted their language as the official language of the State. I would also like that for the development of these State or national languages and also for Hindi the Central Government should render necessary financial assistance. It should give them as much support, specially financial support, as is possible.

I would also say that it is better that this problem is fully and carefully considered because it would not be advisable to change our decisions on this matter frequently. I, therefore, welcome the idea that we might devote a little more time and study the various pros and cons of this matter fully and then take a decision which would be almost final—of course, there is nothing final in the world.

We have to consider the language problem in a national perspective. It is not that we can consider each and every language spoken in this country as one which should be the official language of the whole country—it would not be possible; and in accordance with the Constitution, we have accepted Hindi as the official language of the Union. I think that it is essential that there should be one common language, one link language for the country. Otherwise, it would mean a compartmentalisation of our country; it would lead to some kind of disintegration. For, if we only learn the State language and no common language is learnt, then after some time we shall find ourselves in a position in which it would not be possible for us to communicate with each other. Language is one of the cementing forces; it is an element which joins up and which integrates the country. Therefore, I suggest that Hindi is accepted or should be accepted or has been accepted as the official language of the Union.

But the point is that we should not do anything which would lead to disintegration instead of integration of the country. It is, therefore,

essential that we should go slow in this matter. We cannot precipitate things. We cannot, as I said, impose it, and we shall have to wait and see that Hindi is learnt by the people of every State. Naturally it will take time. There is no question of any kind of handicap being imposed on those who do not know Hindi. If they are in service, well, they can use English. But if they voluntarily learn Hindi it is a different matter altogether. The Home Ministry has made arrangements for the teaching of Hindi. It is up to the officials to take advantage of it and learn it. I do not think that there will be any objection to the voluntary learning of Hindi. However, neither in the matter of recruitment nor in the matter of promotion, there is going to be a handicap for those who do not know Hindi. It is essential, therefore, that we should take a much wider view of things and deal with this problem, as I said, in the broad national perspective.

In regard to food, we have passed anxious days, but we can now say that at least that critical period is over. Yet, we have still to face difficulties. Fortunately, we have had a good rice crop, about 39 million tonnes, and we expect that if nothing unusual happens, we may also have a bumper crop of wheat. For the time being, stocks are available in the market.

And we are in the process of making procurement. From all the surplus States, rice is being procured, at some places by the Centre directly and in other places by the State Governments. The total target of procurement is to the tune of 19.5 lakh tonnes, and the actual procurement as of today is about 7.6 lakh tonnes, in addition to what the State Governments have procured on their own, which is about 2.8 lakh tonnes. So, if we take the States' figures also into account, then we have procured about 10 lakh tonnes or a little more than that. There is still time and if we are able to reach the target, which we hope we might do, then there will be a good opportunity for building up a reserve stock.

Naturally, we will have also to import. With the help of imports and indigenous production, we may be able to build up a good buffer stock. I am not one who is very much in favour of importing foodgrains, and I would very much like that our imports should be reduced. But for some time to come, at least for the next few years, it would not be possible for us to build up a good reserve or buffer stock without the help of imports.

There is no doubt that increased production is a matter of the highest importance to agriculture. In the Plan itself, we have laid the utmost emphasis on agriculture with a view to increasing production. As the House knows, there are some difficulties in the way of imports because of the strike in the United States of America. The month of March may be somewhat difficult for us and the State Governments and the Chief Ministers will have to take it in an understanding spirit. However, we are taking other measures to import from other countries. These months are important, because from the middle of April or the first week of April,

we will be getting the new stocks of wheat, and so during this period we have to be extra careful and take necessary steps in order to meet the requirements of the people.

I would appeal to the State Governments to concentrate on increased agricultural production. It is mainly their concern and their responsibility. A number of steps have been suggested with a view to increasing agricultural production. I am sure they will be adopted and accepted by the State Governments. They are trying to do their best. They have a full realisation of the fact that they must increase their agricultural production; otherwise it would mean a serious setback for them and for their people.

I would like indeed that there should be field-to-field survey, and it should be seen whether the production in the field is raised or not, whether production goes up; if it does not, if there is reduction, then the causes for reduction should be tackled. If we go into these details, I am sure it would have the desired effect.

In so far as prices are concerned, it is, no doubt, a matter which has caused us concern, and which is causing us concern even now. I do hope that many fiscal and monetary measures proposed in the Budget will lead to curbing down the rise in prices. I would also say that the Budget proposals will lead to the general strengthening of our economy. The proposals go towards helping to some extent—if not to a large extent—the common man.

Of course, the objective is to reduce disparity in life and in income. The proposed tax on urban property is also a move in that direction.

It is also necessary that we should have more factories, more concerns and more plants in the public sector. Setting up of industries in the public sector means non-concentration of money in a few hands; it also helps in giving employment to people as well as adding to our national income. What we have done in the public sector projects is that we have taken up basic industries and heavy industries. They have a long gestation period. They do not immediately start giving profit. Even in spite of what I have said just now, wherever they have come up, they have helped in building up other major industries and a large number of ancillary industries. In fact, towns and cities have developed around them and thousands and thousands of people have found employment.

It was said that the public sector projects were not doing well. Well, there may be one or two cases. But, by and large, I have no doubt that the public sector projects have done well and are doing well.

I may point out that the growth in the national income in the third year of the Plan was higher than in the first two years. I hope I am not unduly optimistic if I say that the last year of the Third Plan will probably show the highest rate of annual growth that we have achieved so far.

Shri Mukerjee said that there has been a major shift in our policy in regard to and in favour of foreign capital. It would be better if I quote

what Pandit Jawaharlalji had stated in Parliament on 6th April, 1949, while enunciating the policy of the State in regard to foreign capital. He had said: "Government have stated before that, as a rule, the major interest in ownership and effective control of an undertaking should be in Indian hands. Obviously, there can be no hard and fast rule in this matter. Government will not object to foreign capital having control of a concern for a limited period if it is found to be in the national interest and each individual case will be dealt with on its merits. The stress on the need to regulate, in the national interest, the scope and manner of foreign capital arose from past association of foreign capital and control with foreign domination of the economy of the country. But circumstances today are quite different. The object of our regulation should, therefore, be the utilisation of foreign capital not only because national savings will not be enough for the rapid development of the country on the scale we wish, but also because in many cases scientific, technical and industrial knowledge and capital equipment can best be secured along with foreign capital."

Further on, he had added that foreign interests would be permitted to earn profits subject only to regulations common to all, and there can be no hard and fast rule, etc. I would like to say that the same policy continues. Generally our desire is that we should have majority share holding wherever foreign concerns collaborate with an Indian party or with the Government, but there may be some cases in which it might not be possible to have Indian majority shares because the technical know-how is not available to us; sometimes it might also not be possible to find the necessary foreign exchange, and generally, so far as public sector projects are concerned, in case we have to accept it, we have to do so in the case of basic and heavy industries. However, our general policy, as I said, remains the same.

I would also like to add that even if there is a majority shareholding, it might be for a limited period. Later on, the concerns or the plants or the companies might sell their shares to Indian parties. We can impose it as one of the conditions in our agreement with them, and we do keep this thing in view whenever we enter into an agreement with foreign concerns. Each and every case which comes up is very carefully scrutinised and examined. In a few cases, they may have to accept majority shareholding, however, with the condition that as far as possible, ultimately they might become minority partners in the concerns which are set up here.

We have as our objective socialism and we are trying to pursue that objective through our different Plans. Planning is a very difficult problem for us because the gap is tremendous between what the people want and what we can do. There is such a wide gulf that it becomes so difficult for the planners to decide as to what the size of the Plan should be. If they look to the needs and requirements, they have to provide for a much

bigger Plan. Then the resources have also to be found and it is important that we should be very careful about finding the resources and in the light of the actual resources only, the Plan could be drawn up.

However, two things are important: We should have a very careful examination of the position of our resources. Secondly, it should be seen that production will match the investment. If there is greater investment and production is not adequate, naturally it will lead to inflationary tendencies. We have also to be careful about the implementation of our Plan; it has to be much more effective and efficient. We should see to it that there is quick execution of each project.

I would suggest that in order to achieve effective and quicker implementation we should keep a few things in mind. Firstly, there should be planning in depth, that is, greater details for each project should be prepared; secondly, there should be a time-and-cost schedule for each unit. Thirdly, there should be a machinery to keep a watch on the progress. Fourthly, there should be advance preparatory action within this year on some of the Fourth Plan projects.

Lastly, it is essential that there should be larger facilities for training of personnel. If we keep them in view, it would be possible for us to go ahead with our Plan and also to complete our projects in time.

In regard to foreign affairs, we stick to our basic policies. Our desire is to remain friendly with all countries. As a developing country we want that there should be peace in the world. Not that it is purely with a selfish view that we say this, but the fact remains that quite a large part of the world is in the process of development. Those countries which have attained their freedom recently are backward in many ways, especially economically, and, therefore, they would never like that the peace of the world should be disturbed. It is important that there should be a policy of co-existence which should be generally acceptable to all. Because, even if we differ in ideology or in other matters with other countries, it should not be impossible for us to live together peacefully. Therefore, the policy of non-alignment and co-existence becomes absolutely important and essential for us. We, of course, stick to them and it would be our effort to see that we co-operate with other countries also who pursue these policies.

On the question of South Vietnam, a serious situation has developed, and one fears whether the conflict might not escalate. Recently, on behalf of the Government of India, we issued a statement suggesting that this conflict should end and that hostilities should cease immediately and a Geneva-type conference should be held.

We have written also to the United States of America, to the USSR Government and also to some non-aligned countries. I have received replies from some countries. They have generally welcomed this idea. They have supported the idea of ending the hostilities and they also want that

some kind of conference or dialogue should be held.

Regarding the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia, we have always suggested that there should be no confrontation between the two countries. I am glad to notice that there is some effort to bring about some kind of peaceful discussions between the two countries. Not we but some other countries are doing it. I do hope that it would be possible for the two countries to sit round the table with the help of others. We would never like that Indonesia and Malaysia should fight among themselves.

In regard to the Afro-Asian Conference, I would not like to say much except that I do hope that this conference will uphold the policies of non-alignment, co-existence, disarmament, peace and anti-colonialism. I do hope that this conference will strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity and also strengthen the forces of peace and co-operation among the Afro-Asian family.

About China I have nothing much to say except that they have already exploded an atom bomb and there is a report that they might explode another atom bomb. However, we do not want to follow in the footsteps of China and we have decided that we will not manufacture the atom bomb in India. However, we will continue the development of our nuclear devices for peaceful purposes and we are going ahead with it.

As for the dispute with China, the Colombo proposals are there. We have gone to the farthest length and we have nothing more to say in that matter, because they are the proposals of the Colombo countries.

If any Hon'ble Member thinks that I am going to attack China tomorrow, I am sorry I cannot.

Shri Homi Daji said that there was a shift to the right and that I had shifted to the right. I do not know if he is also not to the right of some other party. At least for us it is a matter of some interest and amusement that even in the Communist party there are now two groups, rightists and leftists. We were always being accused of being rightists. They also sail in the same boat. We are going neither to the right nor to the left; we are going forward, instead of going to the right or to the left.

8. VITAL ISSUES

THERE HAS BEEN a prolonged discussion on the President's Address and except perhaps for a couple of very critical speeches, on the whole I must say that they were set in the proper key. The most important

problem before us today is the economic development of our country, and we have naturally to concentrate our utmost attention on that problem. Sometimes an impression is given that there is no progress or no adequate development in the economic field. I would not go into the past history but during the last decade or twelve years, we have touched almost every vital item of industry. The essential ingredients of industry like oil, mines and minerals, steel, power, all these items have been not only fully explored but after giving some time to the exploration part of it, the Government has made definite progress and the industrial production has considerably gone up. There have been bottlenecks in the development of cement and steel. I might say that cement production during the next twelve months is expected to increase by about 1 million tonnes. Steel production between this year and the next two is expected to increase by 1½ million tonnes. Fertiliser output is also expected to go up by 100,000 tonnes with the Trombay fertiliser plant going into production.

Then in regard to power, there will be an increase of nearly 3 million kilowatts in the power generating capacity of the country. In regard to steel, we have signed the Bokaro agreement. Two additional blast furnaces are being constructed at Bhilai in respect of steel plant expansion in the Fourth Plan. The Bhadravati Steel Works is being converted to produce alloy, tool and special steel, and a separate plant for it at Durgapur is nearing completion. In regard to petroleum, the Barauni refinery has just been commissioned. Construction of the third public sector refinery at Koyali is progressing and it should be completed by the end of 1965. Cochin refinery is also expected to be completed by the end of 1965.

About petro-chemicals, large petro-chemical complexes have been planned so far, one in the public sector around Koyali refinery in Gujarat and the other in the private sector near Bombay.

In the matter of machinery making, the Tiruchi Boiler Factory will start production in 1965. The fifth unit of the Hindustan Machine Tools at Hyderabad will also go into production this year. The Surgical Instruments Plant at Madras will be commissioned in the middle of 1965. There is the Heavy Structural Works in regard to which we have entered into an agreement with Austria. And then there is the Czech Foundry Forge at Wardha, which is also to be constructed. These are some of the examples which indicate what is being done and what we would achieve in the course of about a couple of years in regard to certain plants and in a longer period in regard to other plants. This is a sector in which we have naturally to depend more on the public sector.

The public sector has to expand considerably both as a matter of policy and also because it is not possible for others to invest huge sums of money which are needed for setting up these basic industries. It is also in a way easier for the Government to enter into collaboration with

other governments on government-to-government basis. And, therefore, we have to expand our public sector and these public sector projects will come to fruition to serve as the base of our industries and the industrial economy in the country. I would also like the private sector to grow, and naturally, they have to function in the background of our social objectives. It is also true that they will have to be given every opportunity to develop. And incentives may also have to be given so that they can increase their production.

Our fiscal policy is oriented towards greater production as also towards helping the weaker elements of our society. The various measures or proposals of our Budget do indicate that for greater production incentives will be provided. The incentives are given mainly on the basis of production. There may be—there may not have been—a large reduction or any special reduction in the corporate sector so far as taxes are concerned, but what is most important is increased production and for that, the Budget proposals do contain various incentives.

In regard to agriculture, there is no doubt that we had to face a difficult food situation a few months back. I do not say that everything is now all right. Things are still difficult. Yet, it must be said that we have turned the corner. There are foodgrains available in the market, and the prices also have not gone up recently. It is, of course, unfortunate that we have to continue to import and there seems to be no alternative for us for some time to come except to add to our indigenous production through imports and serve the needs of our people. It is essential especially in order to build up a buffer stock. It helps in getting over the lean periods and it also acts as a check and some kind of regulation on the trends of the market. Luckily, we have had very good rice crops, over 39 million tonnes, perhaps the highest production of rice, this year. We expect that we will have a good wheat crop also. And in the matter of rice, we have procured rice, and our target of procurement is about 19 lakh tonnes. We have so far procured about eight lakh tonnes but this procurement will continue and this will help us in building up a buffer stock. In regard to wheat, we have not yet taken a final decision but we will be deciding about it as early as possible. Our policy is to procure our indigenous foodgrains. Naturally, they will have to be procured from the surplus States. It is open to the deficit States also to make purchases, if they so like. We have our Food Corporation set-up which would also enter into the market. There is going to be no monopoly procurement by the Food Corporation but it would also enter into the field along with others. I, therefore, hope, Sir, that in this year we would have solved one of our most intricate problems and that there will be an easy situation so far as foodgrains are concerned. Of course, imports are there but in fact the Government of India does not want that we should have to import for a long time to come. We have naturally to increase our agricultural

production and for that it is essential that the necessary inputs, the necessary ingredients for agricultural production should be provided to the farmer, whether it is fertiliser or water or good seeds or similar other things. These things are very important and it has to be seen that these things reach the farmers in time. And it is important for the administration, the district administration, to take a special interest in it. There should be better coordination between the departments concerned, particularly those which deal with the panchayats.

Our target of foodgrain production for the Third Five Year Plan was 92 million tonnes. I am sorry to say that last year it has only been 80 million tonnes.

This indicates that we have to go very far. In fact, the Memorandum of the Fourth Five Year Plan has fixed the target at 120 million tonnes. Well, I do not think that it is impossible to achieve it.

Yet great efforts will have to be made and everyone of us will have to cooperate in the matter. I say "us" because Members of Parliament can help in this matter a great deal. They are the representatives of the people and they have to create an atmosphere in which the farmer, the peasant, will be interested in increasing the agricultural production. It is essential that we generate a feeling in him that it is good for him to produce more and it is in the best interests of the country to have greater agricultural production. Sometimes it is not the physical need but perhaps a mental resolve, a mental resolution that he will do his utmost to increase the production in the larger interest of the country which would work as a magic. We have to create that mental resolution amongst our farmers. I have no doubt that if we increase our production, it would lead to stability in prices and it would also help in creating general prosperity all round, and then naturally it would mean less of dependence on foreign countries.

Sir, in regard to external affairs, we have always tried that the Geneva Agreement on Indochina should be adhered to; that there should be no breach of the Agreement and that there should be no conflict. Unfortunately, recently a new development has already arisen and the position seems to be fairly delicate. In that context we had appealed and expressed our views that two things are absolutely essential to resolve this problem: First, the hostilities which are going on at present should come to an end and the two parties should stop fighting. Secondly, there should be a Geneva-type conference. We feel that those who are not directly interested might also meet so that there is a dialogue, there is a talk, there is a discussion and there might be mutual consultations and talks also which would lead us to finding some kind of a solution. We have also written to different Governments, different countries in this regard, and I might say that there is a generally favourable response from those countries. They have generally supported the idea that there should

be some kind of joint appeal in order to end the present hostilities, and they also feel that there should be some kind of a conference. I think it is in the interest of world peace that these suggestions are accepted, and we will do our level best to move in this matter and see that something positive is done.

Our policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is strongly and fully endorsed and is going to continue as our basic policy. Non-alignment has kept us free from the power blocs. We are an independent country and we should have the authority to think independently. Secondly, non-alignment helps us in expanding the sphere of peace. It is essential that if we want to have peace it would be better for as large a number of countries as possible to keep out of the power blocs. And we, therefore, feel that our policy of non-alignment is necessary, is useful and is good for the country. Peaceful co-existence means that we do believe that it is not possible to have one kind of pattern throughout the world. It is not possible to regiment the thinking of man. The human being has got this special faculty of thinking and, therefore, there will be different patterns, different systems of administration and different forms of government. It is therefore, important that in spite of the different ways of thinking, different approaches, different ideologies, the world should live in peace and different countries should live as good neighbours.

The United Nations, in spite of its failings, has been a hope for the world. It has done many useful things and averted a number of critical moments when the world might have plunged into war. But recently, in regard to article 19, a new difficulty, a new complication has arisen. I do not want to go into that particular matter in detail because the House is aware of the developments. Recently they have formed a Committee to go into this matter. India is also a member of this Committee. We will try to contribute our mite.

We have had a number of distinguished guests from abroad during the last five or six months in our country. I am glad to say that our relations with our neighbouring countries have considerably improved. There may be some differences still remaining but by and large our relations are better and it is essential that we should have the best of relations with our neighbouring countries—Ceylon, Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan. The dignitaries, the Heads of these States, the Prime Ministers of these countries, have visited India. We have met them, have had talks and discussions with them and I must say that these talks have been very useful and we have definitely come closer to each other. I might also say that I have received invitations from a number of countries. It is not possible for me to visit all the countries from where I have received invitations but I have decided to visit the Soviet Republic and I have also received an invitation from the President of the United States and I would also be going there.

In regard to the language question, I would say that it is a very delicate issue. It has aroused feelings throughout the country, especially in the southern parts of India. People are naturally deeply attached to their mother-tongue and there is absolutely no question of displacing or replacing the mother-tongue spoken in different States. When I referred to misapprehension, I said it especially in regard to the use of the State language, or the mother-tongue, because some Tamil papers and some other pamphlets, etc., wrote that Tamil goes and Hindi comes, that Hindi will replace Tamil. There were even slogans to this effect shouted by some people in Madras. So this was a clear case of misapprehension. In so far as the State language is concerned, it is there, it has to be there and the Government of India will naturally like to give all encouragement possible to the development of the State languages. It is essential and we have certainly no objection to it. Almost all the State Governments have accepted or adopted the policy of introducing the State language as the official language of the State, and I know that in course of time all the State languages will become the principal languages for official purposes. As to the medium of instruction, of course, it is left to the State Governments. So, therefore, in so far as the State languages are concerned, there can be no doubt at all in the mind of anyone that there is any question of replacing those languages by Hindi.

The second point is about the use of English. On January 26, 1965, it was, of course, officially announced, in terms of the provisions of the Constitution, that Hindi would be the official language of the Union and, if the Hon'ble Members will see, there was no other action taken which could create any kind of confusion. I am told about some circulars in Hindi. Well, even if some circulars were issued, it should not have resulted in such violent action. Our mistakes could have been pointed out. I remember, when I was in charge of the Communications Ministry, a money order form was brought to my knowledge; it was printed in Hindi only. Immediately I got it rectified and money order forms in Hindi were completely stopped from being sent to the South; forms in English were introduced there. So, even if there were certain discrepancies, or some mistakes made, it should have been pointed out to us, and we would have immediately rectified it. So there has been some cause for misapprehension, and as Mr. Annadurai rightly said, there has been a genuine apprehension also of the imposition of Hindi. I have made it categorically clear that we will abide by the wishes of and the assurances given by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I stand by it and we will certainly consider as to how to do it, how to implement it. That is one point which is under our consideration. Along with that, of course, we will have to realise that this country should have a link language. I am glad that Mr. Annadurai has said that he is not against Hindi as such, but he wants that it should not be spread through the help of the Government. Well, I would not like to say

anything about that, but I do wish and hope that after some time he might like to reconsider his view even in regard to this particular matter. I do agree that there should be non-official effort, as big an effort as possible, for the teaching and propagation of Hindi. All the same it is important that English has to continue, it will continue. In terms of the Official Languages Act, English is to continue as an associate language, and there will be no difficulty at all for anyone who does not know Hindi, whether he is functioning here in the Secretariat, or in any other all-India office in any other part of the country. There will be no handicap at all in the matter of recruitment. There will be no handicap at all in the matter of promotion, etc., because the officer does not know Hindi. I mean, these assurances are there. And then, between one State and the other English could be used, and is to be used, but in regard to the Centre it is again open to the State Governments to use English. Between one State and another, if they agree to correspond with each other in a particular language, they are free to do so. For example, between Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, if they want to correspond with each other in Hindi, they might do so. But so far as the Centre is concerned, it has to be both in English as well as in Hindi.

With these assurances, Sir, I do not think there should be any kind of fear or apprehension in the minds of the people of Madras. I would like to say that we are considering several matters in this connection. The question of the three-language formula is there; then some other matters, for example, the medium of examination in different languages. Well, we will examine all these matters; we will study them and then come to definite conclusions. The issue of language is such that it is better to take a cool and calculated view of things, and we must consider its various aspects and implications. I do hope that the students of Madras will now at least see things in the correct perspective. They have by and large withdrawn their strike, and I have extended my congratulations to them. Still there is some trouble somewhere; it may not be especially due to the language problem as such; it perhaps might be because of the cases of the detentions, etc. I would appeal to them that they must wait and see. They should not take any hurried action. I have no doubt that the Madras Government will consider all their suggestions more sympathetically. It would be in the best interests of the students as well as the State and the country that they do not resort to any kind of direct action.

I am glad that Shri Annadurai said that he did not want to interfere with the students or that he did not want to encourage them. It is indeed, from my point of view, very good and very satisfactory. I also do not believe that students as such should take direct part in politics. For youth outside the colleges and schools it is different. But so long as students are studying in universities and colleges and schools, they should not take

an active part or associate themselves with any political organisation. They may study peacefully and quietly, and after they have completed their studies, they will be free to associate themselves with any political party or political organisation. I would humbly appeal that language should serve as a cementing force. Language is to unite; it is not to disunite. Language has to integrate and not to disintegrate, and, therefore, we have to keep the question of unity first and foremost in our minds. I would, without taking much time of this House, Sir, appeal to Members of Parliament that they should always have the vision of a united India. In their mind's eye, they should carry an image of the whole country, a map which has no internal dividing lines but only the frontiers of this vast and varied and yet united land.

9. DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT ARE INDIVISIBLE

FRASER: Mr. Prime Minister, with Canada's assistance India has been developing a nuclear capability in the reactor near Bombay in the last few years, for peaceful purposes, of course; but now China has exploded a nuclear bomb. Does this change India's thinking about the need for acquiring nuclear weapons?

Shastri: Well, there is naturally great resentment in our country against the explosion of the bomb by China, and naturally there is a desire amongst a section of our people that we should also go in for the manufacture of atom bombs. However, keeping in view our basic policies, the Government of India have decided not to use their present capability to go in for the manufacture of nuclear weapons or for the manufacture of atom bombs.

Fraser: In that case, Sir, how will you defend yourself against a nuclear attack from China?

Shastri: The danger from China is in no way less of conventional weapons than of nuclear arms. China has developed tremendously its conventional weapons and we may have, if a situation arises, to face them in their attack if it comes off with the conventional weapons. And so far as nuclear weapons are concerned, India will work for the elimination of nuclear weapons rather than make them for destructive purposes.

Text of an interview with CBC-TV Canada, broadcast on June 16, 1965. The interviewers were Blair Fraser, editor of the *Maclean's* magazine, and Claude Ryan, publisher of *Le Devoir*.

Ryan: Has there been any progress, Mr. Prime Minister, in the settlement of the dispute with China?

Shastri: No, there has been no talk at all between us and China. But we had, as you might be aware, favourably responded to the Colombo proposals. And it was about a year and a half back when there was a further proposal that China will withdraw their check-posts on the attack front or India may also have the same number of check-posts on their side. We agreed to either of the suggestions, but to that also there has been no response from China. In fact, they have poohpoohed this proposal.

Ryan: I am not sure I understood you correctly, Sir, but you seem to imply that China's acquisition of a nuclear weapon does not significantly increase China's superiority of strength over India. Was that what you meant?

Shastri: Well, it will take some time for China to develop the deterrent capacity, and to my mind the explosion just at present is with a view to creating a political impression.

Ryan: I see. During your recent discussion with the leaders of the Soviet Union, did you have any indications as to what their attitude would eventually be in the case of an open clash between India and China? Or if they are remaining more or less neutral at the moment?

Shastri: Well, I have had no talks on this matter, and I do not know what their attitude would be; but during the last aggression the Soviet Union was more or less neutral.

Fraser: India's general policy ever since it became an independent nation has been identified in the mind of the world with non-violence, peaceful co-existence, peaceful negotiation and so on. Do you feel that in your relations with China this general attitude can persist? Or will you be forced by the Chinese attitude to take a more militarily active role, however distasteful?

Shastri: No, we are always for peace and if we can resolve our differences and disputes in an honourable way, then we would never like to enter into any kind of clash or conflict. It all depends upon what the attitude of China will be. As you would remember, our late Prime Minister had gone to the length of suggesting that he would be willing to refer this matter to a tribunal, and I do not think that he could go any further.

Fraser: But have you had any favourable reaction, or indeed any reaction at all from China?

Shastri: None at all, none at all.

Fraser: Well, what alternative does this leave to India? Do you now feel that you are compelled by the circumstances to change your policy?

Shastri: Well, we do stand by our earlier position that we would like the aggression to be vacated. Just at present we do not propose to take any definite or positive action.

Ryan: I've noticed that you've increased your defence budget considerably in the last two years. How does this affect the national economy? Is that going to impede the progress of the economy?

Shastri: Well, the expenditure on defence has, no doubt, substantially increased, and it is bound to have some effect on the economy. The expenditure on defence is in a way unproductive, and, therefore, it has an inflationary tendency on the economy. Yet we have to build up our defensive strength and, in spite of the sufferings we may have to undergo, we do want to build up our defence forces side by side with the programme of our general economic development.

Ryan: There had been hope when you became Prime Minister that there would be an improvement in the delicate situation with Pakistan, and apparently nothing has come of that hope. Apparently, the situation is just as bad today as it was about a year or two ago. How can you explain that persisting stalemate? And do you see any prospect of improving the situation in the near future?

Shastri: Soon after I took over I went to Karachi and had a talk with President Ayub. I must say I was impressed with the talks and both of us felt the necessity that we should try to tackle some of the major problems facing India and Pakistan. One of them was the settlement of our border problems and border disputes. I did tell President Ayub that it was most unfortunate that there should be fighting and killings on both sides. And he also felt that it was rather bad that innocent lives should be lost almost every day or alternate days on the different frontiers. So he readily agreed that there should be talks and discussions between the Ministers of the two countries. Unfortunately Pakistan did not nominate its representatives. We did convey to them that we were most willing to have a talk and in fact we suggested dates as well. However, something happened, perhaps elections came in between (elections in Pakistan), but somehow it did not materialise and now in the Rann of Kutch Pakistan has intruded into our territory. It has created more complications and we have said that unless they get out of that area, it could not be possible for us to have any further talks or discussions.

Fraser: But is the territory in the Rann of Kutch of any value to either country? I understood it was a salt swamp.

Shastri: It may not be of any special value, but whatever is part of our territory, whether it is in mountains or in a desert, it is part and parcel of our country and we do want to preserve our integrity and sovereignty.

Ryan: About this last point that you made, Mr. Prime Minister, the question of national sovereignty. I have noted that you lay a great deal of emphasis on the preservation of national sovereignty. How can you reconcile this with the need for a world authority of some sort to handle the big international issues without resorting to violence? I have noticed

that you give whole-hearted support to the United Nations, for instance. What means do you propose for the strengthening of the United Nations? Would you delegate to the United Nations a little of that national sovereignty that you insist upon? Or if you would see some other means of reinforcing it?

Shastri: Well, I would not deal with the general problem but in so far as our borders with Pakistan are concerned, there is already a procedure proposed, and we had entered into an agreement in 1960 which provides that in order to settle our border problems there should be a joint meeting of the officials of the two countries, and if they do not settle amongst themselves, if they cannot do so, then the Ministers of the two countries will meet and try to come to an agreement. Even if they fail, then it has to be referred to an impartial tribunal, a tribunal of three: a nominee of Pakistan, a nominee of India, and a third person to be selected by mutual consultation. There could be no better procedure than this. And I do, therefore, feel that perhaps it's not necessary for any other machinery or any other agency to intervene.

Ryan: You seem to have made an important shift in your economic policies recently. Apparently there has been a shift from emphasis on industrial development to emphasis on the production of consumer goods, and agriculture in particular. Could you explain this shift that occurred in the last few months?

Shastri: There is no doubt that I have laid the utmost stress on agricultural development. Unless we can produce enough foodgrains in our country, the base of our economy will remain weak. It is not at all desirable for a country like India which has so much agricultural potential to import foodgrains from abroad. There is every possibility of India producing adequate foodgrains for its needs and requirements. I have, therefore, laid the highest importance on agricultural production, and in our Fourth Five Year Plan perhaps we will be making higher allocations, much higher allocations, to the agricultural sector. It might be higher than even industries. However, in industries I have laid emphasis on both. That is we should have heavy industries, but we should not also ignore consumer goods industries.

Ryan: We are wondering at times what differences there are between your brand of socialism, the type of socialism that you have in Russia, the type of socialism that is represented by a man like Mr. Harold Wilson for instance. Could you elaborate a little on your concept of socialism as it is applied in India?

Shastri: Well, India is a vast country and we are a poor country. It would not be possible to allow some people or a few people to have large wealth in their possession if only a few people could gain by the economic development. The other section of the community would continue to suffer. Hence we are opposed to monopolies, and we do believe in the

equitable distribution of wealth, the equitable distribution of our national income.

Ryan: Is it still the policy of your Government that foreign investors coming to India must be in a minority shareholders position in any important enterprise? Or if there is room for private investors acting as majority shareholders, as they do in a country like Canada, for instance?

Shastri: Well, there may be exceptions, but generally we will prefer, if it is between the Government and the governed; if the factory is going to be in the public sector, we will prefer to have 51 and 49 per cent.

Fraser: If I may ask a question about some of the social difficulties that India has had recently. Do you feel that you have reached a stable solution of the language difficulty that led to the riots in Madras a few months ago? Or do you feel that the settlement is a temporary expedient?

Shastri: Well, recently the Congress Working Committee has taken certain important decisions in regard to the language problem. If I can form my assessment on the basis of the comments and the views expressed in the newspapers in regard to those propositions, I feel that by and large it seems to be acceptable to the country.

Fraser: Does this mean that English will remain an official language in India indefinitely?

Shastri: It will remain at least for a long time to come, until it is replaced by Hindi.

Ryan: Can it be implied that at the level of the regional States you may have unilingual States whose official language would not be the Hindi language or the English language but another language?

Shastri: Yes, according to the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, each State will have full right to use the regional language for administrative purposes, and as its medium of instruction.

Ryan: Do you think there will be many States in which you will have official bilingualism or trilingualism, or if most of the regional States will be unilingual?

Shastri: As far as I can see, it will generally be unilingual. But in certain areas, it might be bilingual in the same State. However, if Hindi will be compulsory in each State along with the regional language to be learned, Hindi will also be learned, and at present English will also be a compulsory subject.

Fraser: So that there will be three languages to be learned in the schools of every State?

Shastri: Yes, we have a three-language formula, Hindi, English and the regional language.

Fraser: It's a fairly formidable obstacle.

Ryan: Quite an academic proposition. What proportion of the total population of India now understands the Hindi language, Mr. Shastri?

Shastri: I think about 35 to 40 per cent.

Ryan: About civil liberties in India. We have heard a lot about the massed jailings of some Communist leaders recently. How can you explain that some of them, according to the information that we have, had been regularly elected at democratic elections, and they were jailed nonetheless because of their attitude on the ... on the Chinese question perhaps?

Shastri: Yes—their attitude towards the Chinese and they were arrested before the elections were held. And they were arrested for some prejudicial activities. They could not be released until after the elections were over because...

Ryan: Do you mean subversive activities?

Shastri: The security of the country is very important.

Ryan: Do you still see any substantial role for the Commonwealth in today's world? Or if it is not only a relic of the past?

Shastri: Oh, I think it is good that some countries meet informally and ponder over vital and important matters concerning the world. It helps at least in this sphere of activity, some kind of nearness and closeness between some countries. It is helpful that there should be more informal talks and discussions. I do not think that we can generally institutionalise the Commonwealth Conference. However, I do find that it has great advantages.

Ryan: I understand you are going to attend the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers after the Commonwealth Conference. There should be some interesting prospects for meeting with other national leaders at that Conference. Do you expect to discuss the Chinese dispute with Mr. Chou En-lai?

Shastri: Well, let me go there first.

10. A BASTION OF DEMOCRACY

MR. HIGH COMMISSIONER AND FRIENDS : I am indeed very happy to be in your midst this afternoon. As you are aware, I have come here to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. The foremost problem of the world today is peace. In different continents there are tensions and conflicts which indicate that peace is in danger.

The most burning problem today is of South Vietnam. There are conflicts and clashes between the two Vietnams—North and South. Unfortunately, other powers have also become interested in it. There is the Geneva Agreement—an agreement which led to peace in Vietnam for some

time. But there was not full compliance with the terms of the Agreement. In fact, there were violations and the result is that the conflict in South Vietnam is on the increase and there is a fear that it might lead to a conflagration, resulting perhaps in world war.

It has naturally, therefore, attracted our attention first in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and it has been decided to send a delegation to the countries concerned for finding out the common grounds on the basis of which hostilities could come to an end and then consider other matters. It is true that there is no complete unanimity on this matter and there were different views expressed, yet by and large the Conference felt that we could not wait and someone should move in the matter. I do not think that there is any kind of split in the Conference as such or that the delegation will not be able to proceed with the work. I do not think that this is a true state of affairs. However, it all depends on how the countries concerned respond, whether North Vietnam, South Vietnam, China or the United States.

But I have said before, and I would even say today, that in order to create a better climate, a better atmosphere for having some sort of talks or discussion, the bombing should be stopped. I have every hope that this delegation which is going would adopt the same attitude. And if the bombing is stopped, then the hands of this delegation will be further strengthened. The first task of the delegation is to bring about cessation of hostilities. And once it is achieved then there will have to be some sort of a Geneva-type conference in which other political matters would be discussed. It is quite obvious that this problem in Vietnam could not be settled militarily. These conflicts will lead to nowhere and they would intensify, resulting in killings and further sufferings to the people of Vietnam. Therefore, it is essential that a formula should be found out to bring some kind of a conference in which the parties concerned could sit round a table and find a solution for ending the present hostilities.

This matter, I need not add, is of the highest importance and I do hope that the present delegation or commission will be able to achieve something positive.

I know that India is deeply interested in it. We have adopted an attitude in regard to this problem from the very beginning and we have tried to play some kind of a constructive role. However, for us the most important problem today is of economic development in India. We have other problems as well, but economic development is the need of the hour. I have been asked to refer to other matters but I shall do so briefly. I might add that our instruments of action in regard to economic development are our Plans, Plans through which we act. As you know we are at the end of the Third Five Year Plan. It would commence from April next and this Five Year Plan is going to be much bigger than our previous three Plans. In fact, it would be bigger than the three Plans put together. Whereas

the First Five Year Plan was of the size of Rs. 2,500 crores, the Second of Rs. 5,500 crores and the Third Rs. 10,500 crores, the Fourth Plan would be of the size tentatively of Rs. 21,500 crores. It is said that our resources are limited. Undoubtedly, we would need both internal as well as external resources for the implementation of our policies and programmes. I know it is by no means going to be an easy matter to get the necessary foreign exchange from foreign countries in the form of loans or in any other way. However, if we have to advance or progress, the country will have to make sacrifice and this generation will have to undergo sufferings in order to build up a future which would be fruitful for the generations to come.

In this Plan we had naturally to give very high priority to agriculture. As you know, last year we had to face severe difficulties on account of shortage of foodgrains. Our crops failed. There were drought and serious floods in certain areas. We were able somehow to overcome this situation with the help of imports of foodgrains from foreign countries, specially from the United States of America. However, luckily this year we have had very good crops, both wheat and rice. But we do want to continue imports for some time, because it is important that we should build up a buffer stock so that in times of need we could draw upon it and not be manoeuvred and put in difficulties because of certain tactics of the trade.

Therefore, it is important that we build up our reserves with the help of indigenous production as well as by imports at least for some time to come, as in the Fourth Five Year Plan we have proposed naturally to give the highest priority to agriculture. I have in fact suggested that for agriculture there should be almost a separate plan, a sub-plan, to coordinate different activities of agriculture, whether it is irrigation or power or other necessary items *viz.* fertilisers, implements, all these things, and there has to be a coordinated plan, a coordinated picture of our agricultural programmes during the next five years. So, I would merely say that the kind of propaganda which is often carried on, sometimes in foreign countries, about our food situation is rather exaggerated. Last year was a difficult year, no doubt, but to suggest that people in India are starving or dying of hunger is wholly incorrect. There has not been one starvation death in the country even during the most difficult period we passed through last year. I am sometimes amazed to see some of the publications even in this country where the worst picture is painted of our economic conditions, of our social living. Well, there is freedom of the Press and we have nothing to say about it, but the people of this country have to realise that they are responsible for the conditions which prevail in India today. What India has achieved during the last 10 or 15 years is something to be proud of. Under the British regime rural areas were completely neglected and even in the cities what was the objective of the then British Government except producing a few clerks and some young men to serve in slightly higher capacity?

However, I would not like to go into that, but I feel pained to find the way propaganda is carried on against us and our country.

As I said before, we naturally have given high priority to agriculture. I might say that we have given the highest allocations to agriculture, industries, education and health, and, of course, to irrigation and power. We have to build up our heavy industries. There are sometimes criticisms that we invest too much in industries. I need not tell you how important it is for us to develop our industries. It is not only on agriculture that we have to live, but we would have to find employment for our young people coming out of colleges and universities. Besides that, we have to step up our production in different fields. It is, therefore, important that we should lay the utmost emphasis on industries.

I do realise that we have to depend on foreign countries for the implementation of our Plans and I must say I do not feel very happy about it. But for the time being, there is no way out except to get assistance. But, mind you, most of it is in the form of loans, and every pie has to be paid back and is paid by us. So, it is our earnest desire, and it is important that we carry on with the help and assistance of others and I would only say that the world cannot really live if it is divided between the developed and under-developed areas. If there is a partition between developed and under-developed countries, it would lead to disturbance of the peace. It is in the interests of developed countries that they should help, and assistance should be made available to the under-developed countries from the developed ones.

Our effort is, and would be, to reduce our dependence on foreign countries. Someone asked me in Ottawa at a Press Conference as to how long we will continue to take the help. I said that to my mind the maximum period should be 10 to 15 years. After that it should be possible for us to manage ourselves. I am sure we will make a success in this direction.

You have asked me to say something about the political situation in India. The Chinese aggression took place in October 1962, and since then there is a stalemate. They are very much on our borders. The threat is constantly there. But in spite of our desire that this matter should be peacefully settled, there has been no response from China. After all, we cannot continue our effort if there is no response from the other side. We have to build up our defence strength and we will see how to negotiate, but we can only negotiate on terms of honour and dignity. If an honourable settlement is possible, we will certainly welcome it, but not at the cost of the honour of our country.

Recently there has been an intrusion in the Rann of Kutch. I would not like to say much on it because there is an effort being made by the U.K. Prime Minister to bring about some kind of an agreement and I do think that something has to be done in this regard one way or the other as early as possible. I would very much like that this matter is peacefully settled.

but, of course, we are clear that the aggression has to be vacated. However, I shall leave the matter at that and see the result of our talks.

As I mentioned about the Chinese threat, we should also consider their policies, their desire for expansionism, and their disagreement with the policy of peace and co-existence. These have created a very special situation for us. We wish China well. We want her to progress and develop. We have no objection to their carrying on propaganda of their views and ideologies. But we do feel that if there is any kind of active subversion taking place in the country, the Government will have to resist it. As I said, in the matter of thinking and even in the matter of propagation of ideologies we do not want to come in their way, but if the security of the country is in danger, then no Government can put up or can tolerate any activity of any party and that is why the Government of India had to take action against one wing of the Communist Party in India. There have been detentions and after that no further action has been taken. Undoubtedly, I regret that this kind of action should have been taken, but if in the conference of the Communist Party you find pictures of the President of China and not that of Gandhi or Jawaharlal, you can well imagine where the loyalty of this party lies or where the principles of the party lie. I would not go into further details. There are many such activities on the part of some of our Communist friends, who almost equate India and China. They say India is not trying for peace or coming to terms with China. They suggest that China has not aggressed. They even went to the length of suggesting that in a way India is at fault. These are naturally matters that cause us worry and anxiety and they vitiate the atmosphere in the country. In these circumstances, we have taken the least possible action. But, of course, it is for these friends to consider as to what their foreign policy is going to be in the future. If they will reconsider their attitude, naturally we will be most willing to set them free and to give them every opportunity to function as they think best.

Now, on the problem of Kashmir, etc., I would not like to go into them. It is true, unfortunately, we had to take action against Sheikh Sahib. I feel unhappy about it, but we gave full freedom to Sheikh Abdullah to come here and visit other countries, knowing as we did that he would voice his own point of view, which would be critical of India, in these countries. I knew it very well and yet as a democratic country we felt that we should not stop him going to other countries. He visited a number of countries and went much beyond what I had expected.

Last but not the least, his meeting with Chou En-Lai created special doubts in our minds. I can quite understand his own opinion about Kashmir and the way he wants the Kashmir problem to be discussed. It is for him to propagate in India that there should be a special set-up for Kashmir or that there should even be the principle of self-determination. All these things he can certainly do. But I do not know what transpired

between him and Chou En-Lai. This meeting, however, did give us an impression that he was seeking Chou En-Lai's moral support, if not other kind of support from China. In these circumstances, we had to take the action, but as I said it is only detention, and it is entirely in the hands of the detenu to come out or remain inside.

I would not like to take much of your time. As you know, we have a democratic set-up in India and we are proud of our democracy. Round about you will find that in other countries there is some kind of a centralised Government and it is almost in India alone that there are one Parliament, 15 Legislatures and 4,000 Members of Parliament and Legislative Assemblies.

You might have heard that there has been a coup in Algiers and I do not know the exact latest report but some one besides Ben Bella has taken over the Government. You hear a lot of criticism of us and our Government. This kind of criticism is not bad in itself, though, of course, I would like that some restraint is exercised, especially by the foreign correspondents. There is no harm done if criticism is made in a democracy which permits freedom of speech and freedom of expression. There one man does not rule. The feelings of other people are not just suppressed. They get an opportunity to speak out publicly and it helps them to get their steam out and it helps the Government also.

We know what our shortcomings are, what our weaknesses are. I am one of those who welcome criticism and in a democratic set-up Parliaments and Legislatures are the forum where the Government can be criticised. If there is a centralised Government, either the Government is there or the President is elected for ever. I think all the countries in the world, especially those which have achieved independence, will have to give careful thought to this aspect of the problem and of the form of Government and what should be the pattern of administration.

It is true that students, after their studies, generally do not want to go back, and yet it is really a sorry state of affairs when we cannot utilise their services in our country and you feel frustrated when you go there. We have shortage of doctors and engineers in our country, while most of you remain here. However we have taken some steps. I cannot say that they are fully satisfactory. Yet, we have built up a pool in which every scientist, engineer and technician could join, and now those qualified in humanities can also join immediately after they go to India, and a job is found for them later on but they have not to remain without any work or without any payment. I would not suggest that you all should come over to India immediately, because it would not be easy to find jobs for all of you. Yet, you all must keep your country in your mind, and even if you get less or smaller pay there, even if you have to pass through some ordeals, you have to accept it in the larger interests of your country, of your Mother India. Those who remain here, they have to serve as true and best

representatives of India, taking the best and giving their best to the country in which they are working.

11. THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

WHEN I TOOK over this office my attention was first drawn towards our neighbouring countries and it was my feeling that we had many problems to face in this country, tremendous problems, and they had to be faced and they had to be tackled. I wanted that there should be peace in India and, as far as possible, we should build up better relationship with our neighbouring States.

It was my desire to have good relations with Pakistan as we have with Ceylon, Burma and Nepal. I felt that it would be good for India if Pakistan and India lived peacefully and in a friendly way. It is for this reason that I decided to visit Karachi on my way back from Cairo. I must say that the talks I had with President Ayub did create some impression on me. When we talked amongst ourselves we felt that some of the burning problems between India and Pakistan could be resolved and should be settled. For example, we felt that the skirmishes that were occurring frequently on the borders should come to an end. Then there was the question of refugees. I said that millions of refugees have come from East Pakistan to India. President Ayub also said that Indian Muslims are being sent out. I said that we are prepared to look into that matter. He suggested that there should be a meeting for discussing this matter. He was very particular that the conflicts or skirmishes which occur on the border should be stopped. So, he himself suggested that the military authorities of the two countries might meet, discuss and evolve a formula. Similarly, he suggested that there should be a meeting of the Home Ministers of both the countries to discuss the question of refugees and evictees, as he described them. I said that these proposals were most welcome to me and that we would be only too glad to have talks with them.

On my return here we sent up proposals to Pakistan. We said that a meeting of the Home Ministers might be fixed. A date was actually fixed. It was later on postponed by Pakistan. Then, another date was fixed and even that was also postponed. Ultimately nothing happened. When we reminded the Pakistan Government that the meeting did not materialise and what they proposed to do, then they said, "Conditions are rather at the present moment difficult," or there were elections, etc., and, therefore, they said, this meeting could not be held.

As I said, our desire is to live peacefully amongst ourselves. Between

ourselves we wanted that we should develop better relationship. Of course, it was far from my imagination that Pakistan was preparing entirely for something else. On the one hand, President Ayub talked of these things and talked of having mutual talks and discussions; on the other, it seems that Pakistan was making preparations for forcing our hands to concede certain matters to them, to surrender on certain points—whether it was in regard to the Rann of Kutch or it was in regard to Jammu and Kashmir.

After a while Pakistan committed an aggression in the Rann of Kutch and it was a sudden attack; it was an attack made with full strength. Even then we felt that in case this matter could be settled peacefully we should try to do so. We had said that in case Pakistan would vacate the Rann of Kutch, we would be prepared to meet and discuss. But Pakistan took some time. Ultimately, we came to an agreement. However, even with this agreement Pakistan, it is clear, was not satisfied. They felt this was a means to achieve something. Even this agreement on the Rann of Kutch provoked them to further aggression. They thought that they could compel us or force us to agree either to the separation of Jammu and Kashmir or to the merger of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan or whatever they may have had in their mind. However, they felt that through force they could compel us to agree to their demands and, therefore, even before the ink was dry, as it is said, on the Rann of Kutch agreement, Pakistan made a further attack on Kashmir and this time it was first through infiltrators. As the House is aware, thousands of infiltrators came into Jammu and Kashmir territory with deadly arms and weapons. There is, I would not deny, a fairly dangerous potential; there are enough of mischievous people in Jammu and Kashmir and it was expected, perhaps by Pakistan, that they would be helpful to these infiltrators who had come into the territory in large numbers. Of course, these infiltrators tried their level best to create some kind of disorder and chaos in Jammu and Kashmir. It has been the practice and habit of Pakistan to create such situation, specially when a meeting of the United Nations or of the Security Council is held. They have been doing it for the last two years. This year also this was one of their plans to show to the world that Jammu and Kashmir is in chaos, there is complete confusion and disorder, and that India had practically no control over Jammu and Kashmir. Of course, they did not succeed in it.

Again, they made an aggression in the Chhamb area. Of course, this was a regular attack. Whereas formerly, it was a disguised attack, the attack on Chhamb was a regular attack with full strength of their armour and weapons. They had come there and there was, of course, a regular fight. When Pakistan sent infiltrators, we raised our voice of protest. We did say that a large number of infiltrators were coming into

Jammu and Kashmir and that it was an attack from Pakistan. When they made an attack on Chhamb, we again made it clear that they had not only crossed the cease-fire line but they had also crossed the international border. Even then, no country in the world, practically no one, said anything about it. They all kept quiet. But as soon as we moved towards Lahore, there were statements made and there were writings in the newspapers and the Press that India had made an aggression on Pakistan. I would not like to say much on this. I would only say that this was the most unfortunate and the most unfair and unjust attitude taken by some of the countries with which we are friendly.

However, this matter was ultimately referred to the Security Council and the Security Council considered this. We said that it was necessary that the aggressor should be identified first. Although it was said, as I have said just now, that India had aggressed or made an aggression on Pakistan, I think now perhaps the whole world fully realises or knows the fact as to who the real aggressor was. We said in the very beginning that the Security Council should first identify the aggressor. I am exceedingly sorry to say that the Security Council did not do so. If the Security Council had done it, some of the problems would have been solved automatically. They had done it earlier in the case of some countries. They had done so in the case of Korea. In two or three cases definitely the Security Council had identified the aggressor. We said so because we felt that in case you do not identify the aggressor, you give encouragement to the aggressor to make further attacks and further aggression.

Therefore, it was important that the Security Council should have considered this matter carefully and seriously. But it seems that the Security Council was not willing to do so. However, the result is obvious. The result now is that Pakistan is committing violations of cease-fire almost every day. There are serious incidents, there are minor incidents and more than a thousand incidents have taken place so far.

I do not know what their intentions are. But on the one hand it seems that they want to show to their people that Pakistan is still fighting. To create a wrong impression they have set their people in a particular way. In fact, they have set them with the news or reports that they have driven away India, India has been defeated and something of that kind. But I need not go into that at all. I think at least the intelligentsia of Pakistan know well as to what is the position and what happened during this conflict between India and Pakistan. A large tract of Pakistan is under occupation of our Army. This question of cease-fire violations might continue; still it has been suggested that we should consider the proposal of withdrawals. I had written to the Secretary-General that it would be advisable that the question of cease-fire is settled first or if the cease-fire stabilises, then perhaps it might be better to proceed further to consider the next step of withdrawals. But anyhow the Security Council has decided and they

have laid the utmost stress on cease-fire and withdrawals to be considered more or less simultaneously. We are prepared to consider it, we are prepared to discuss it, but I would like to make it clear that in so far as cease-fire violations are concerned, if Pakistan infiltrates into our territory now, we shall not tolerate it, and we shall hit back.

I have made our position quite clear. In fact, in the very first letter to the Secretary-General, when he was here, I had said:

"Let me make it perfectly clear, Mr. Secretary-General, that when consequent upon cease-fire becoming effective, further details are considered, we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open for further infiltrations or prevent us from dealing with the infiltrations that have taken place. I would also like to state categorically that no pressures or attacks will deflect us from our firm resolve to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part."

I had also laid this letter on the Table of the House and made a statement, and, therefore, I can only assure the House that we cannot deviate from this position and we will never do so.

There has been some talk about my meeting with President Ayub. As the House is aware, this suggestion was made in the very beginning by the Soviet Government. I do not know what the attitude of Pakistan would be. In any case, we had agreed that we would be prepared to accept the good offices of Mr. Kosygin in this matter. But there is one thing that I would like to make clear. If this talk is going to be held with a view to discussing Kashmir, this talk will never bear any fruit; nor will it bear any fruit if it is about the present position of Jammu and Kashmir. As I have said, I am not going to deviate from that position at all. But one thing is clear. If it is a suggestion that at an appropriate time we should have some talks on the total relationship between India and Pakistan, on how India and Pakistan should live as good neighbours then I do not think that this is the right or the appropriate time, yet I will not like to say 'No' to it. Of course, we cannot ignore the history and the geography of Pakistan as it is placed and as it has developed. We have to live as neighbours. If we can live peacefully, so much the better for us and for both the countries. If they want to discuss the border utilisation of river waters, or about the refugees, and other matters, well, certainly, we would be prepared to discuss it with them. But as far as I am aware, President Ayub or at least his Foreign Minister has only one thing in mind and he thinks that the real solution of amity and of better relationship between India and Pakistan is for India to discuss Kashmir; in fact, not discuss but perhaps part with it and hand it over to Pakistan—a proposition which is wholly impossible and absolutely unacceptable to us.

I have nothing much to say about China, but I must say that what had happened the other day was not a good omen. It is difficult to say what China and Pakistan are preparing for. But if there is a joint attack on us later on, sooner or later, of course, we would be faced with a serious situation. It would be wrong to think that we can just throw them out. It is always difficult to fight on two fronts. So we have to realise the difficulties and the gravity of the situation. As I said, it would mean a lot for us; it would be a heavy burden, a heavy cost both in life and in arms, ammunition, in everything.

Therefore, it is most important that we build up our strength, our defence strength, our economic strength, our industrial strength. All that is essential if we have to face the challenge of these two countries when they come up with a joint purpose and a joint effort.

On the question of non-alignment, I would not like to say much. But I am glad that Shri Masani has at least somewhat subscribed to it for the first time, because I have never heard him before saying that we should have the best of relationship with the USSR. This time at least he said that India should build up good relationship with the Soviet Republic. So to that extent, I think the principle of non-alignment does not require putting forward any other argument. Shri Masani is there and no better argument is required than that he agrees with this proposition. I think it is essential and good that we have the best of relationship with the Soviet Republic. I need not add that it would be impossible for us to forget the way they have helped us during a difficult period. We have good relationship and we will build it up and I have no doubt that our bonds of friendship will further get stronger day by day.

I might also say that we know that the United States does not see eye to eye with us on the Indo-Pakistan issue. We have our differences with them, but it would not be advisable for us not to have good relationship with the United States also. We have many things in common with the United States. We have also our differences with them. It is these two powers, the USA and the USSR, which to a very large extent can maintain peace in this world. It will be good if these two countries, holding entirely different ideologies and having different patterns of Government altogether, live in peace so that the world lives in peace. After all, it is peace that the world is ultimately thirsting for. Every man in the world at least desires it, barring governments, attitudes of which are different. But the people as such are tired of wars and they know the sufferings they have to undergo. Therefore, it is good that these two countries live in peaceful co-existence—there is co-existence between them—so that all the developing countries could get help and assistance from them and the world lives in happiness and peace. I do not say that India can play a very important role in that, but if we can do a bit we will be most happy.

I would only like to say one thing more, that it is true that we do not

have many friends who will come out and openly support us. But whenever there is a conflict most of the countries do not want to take sides, do not want to express themselves openly and frankly. These days, whenever there is a conflict, everyone tries to bring about peace, to bring about a settlement, and all the statements are made more or less in the same direction. We have also done it. Whenever there was a conflict, India always tried that it should be settled peacefully. Therefore, there is nothing new. We should not feel that there is something absolutely new happening in which we do not get direct support from different countries.

There were certain countries in the Middle East, among the Arab countries also, which were wholly opposed to us, and yet it must be admitted, at least it gives me some satisfaction to say, that the Arab summit, when it met, did not take sides at all, and they unanimously appealed for peace. Jordan, of course, said something in the Security Council which was wholly opposed to us.

Of course, our attitude against colonialism has been there from the very beginning, from Gandhiji's time. In fact, he was the man who took the leadership and fought the first battle against colonialism, and after India became free, most of the Asian countries also got their freedom. And something unique has happened in the history of the world that in the last few years almost the whole of the African continent is free and has become independent. It is unfortunate that there are still some countries left which are under colonial rule, whether it is Angola or Mozambique, or Rhodesia, which has declared independence unilaterally which is something monstrous. We have always said that we believe in the rule of the majority. We believe in the 'one-man one-vote' principle, and therefore we do not recognise Rhodesia at all. We would very much like to give our full support to the African majority living in Rhodesia. They should get the earliest opportunity to rule over their own country.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

GANDHIJI, SINCE HE came into the Congress organisation, laid the greatest stress on making the Congress a mass organisation, mostly of the farmers, of the cultivators and the people living in the rural areas. He derived all the strength of his political movement from the farmers and the villages. This should not mean that he had no influence in the cities, but he felt all the time that India really lived in villages and, therefore, he must concentrate on the villages. Gandhiji achieved great success in this direction and the people who really suffered during the freedom struggle were the kisans and others living in the villages. It is, therefore, only natural that we Congressmen, after coming into power, should think of the villages first and try to bring about a radical change and improvement in the surroundings of the rural areas. Our objective is to improve the economic condition of our country and for that we have always said that both agriculture as well as industries have to develop and expand. Agriculture alone cannot meet the present day challenge of fighting poverty and also providing employment to our people. Therefore, there has to be a very happy combination of industries as well as agriculture.

I have often felt that the real industry for the rural areas is agriculture. It is, in fact, the biggest industry for the cultivator, for the farmer and for others who live in the villages. Developing agriculture should mean helping the kisans to earn more. They should not con-

centrate on cereals alone, they should also be in a position to produce enough of cash crops. There has to be a balance no doubt. If the country has to improve its economic condition in the next 10 years, it must concentrate on increased agricultural production. I don't say that the imports will be stopped after 10 years. We may have to continue to import some foodgrains, but gradually we should reach the position in which the country might become self-supporting in foodgrains. Therefore, attention to greater production of foodgrains should also be considered a part of rural industrialisation. I think, power development in rural areas has been considerable; yet most of them are without electricity. But wherever it is available we should develop small industries and village industries. There may be 12 or 14 village industries which have been selected by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Other items can also be added. Everyone knows that, at the present moment, there is a rush towards the urban areas and the boys living in the villages, as soon as they have passed their Matriculation examination or perhaps the middle examination, want to run to the cities. This is creating a special problem for the Government. In the cities slum areas are developing, and it almost seems impossible for the municipalities or the corporations to deal with that problem effectively. As the boys do not live in the villages, they do not take to agriculture, and here they want small jobs, thirty rupees or forty rupees per month jobs; perhaps they might be satisfied with it to begin with, but ultimately they also feel dissatisfied and frustrated. We can prevent this only when we can give them some work in the rural areas themselves. I might also add that the kind of education which is being given in the rural areas almost compels the boys to rush to the cities and be in search of small jobs.

I am told that in Russia technical schools are attached to factories, to big industries and the boys who qualify from those technical institutions are absorbed in the industry or in the factory with which their institutions are attached. Here we do not think in terms of providing employment to our youngmen. We just teach them. If I had my way, I shall have no colleges in the rural areas. I shall just have schools and technical schools. Nothing more than that. To my mind the Agricultural Universities in our country are the worst culprits. I do not know what use and what advantage they have so far provided to our country or to our boys who read there or qualify from there. Every student who comes out from our Agricultural Colleges must find a job. He would not work in the fields. He considers that below his dignity. So I do not understand how far this kind of education can help in providing employment to the people and how it can prevent villagers or youngmen from the villages to rush to the cities.

Well, these may be most foolish remarks, because you are all highly educated and highly qualified people sitting here. You may not like

these remarks but I have a feeling that somehow something is lacking. We talk of rural industrialisation but what is the net result today ? I am not suggesting that we have not done something substantial in the industrial field, and yet, taken as a whole, in totality we find that we have not been able to give real relief to the common man. I am also party to it, I am not out of it. These big documents, papers, reports, all these things are there; but what actually is happening in the fields is the point that matters. I have got an impression that we have become stereotyped in our working. I mean the whole machinery of the Government, the District administration, etc. The staff is provided; then there should be an office; then there should be charts; then reports, and the reports are filed. It goes on like this. It has become a circle. How can we bring about some change in our present administrative pattern ? We must inject new element in the services. Let us introduce professors, economists, teachers, engineers and others, even outsiders so that there is some freshness, a real exchange of views, a meeting of different approaches.

Again I am not very much in favour of centralisation. When there is centralisation on a big scale, difficulties arise, as in the working of the *Khadi* and village industries in different parts of the country. The approach that only the administration can do things in a perfect manner, is wrong. I am sorry, I do not want to believe in it. So in regard to the rural industries, could it not be worthwhile to get this work done through non-official organisations ? Let it not be purely a central body. The central body should be merely for direction in regard to policies, etc. It should have nothing to do with the state bodies in regard to looking into their day-to-day working or keeping some kind of supervision and control and check. Of course, accounts and audit should be the responsibility of the Government. Except for this, most of the things should be entirely done by these non-official bodies.

As regards the industries to be set up, I think the processing industries are very important. We can through a vast network of processing industries in rural areas even control the purchase of foodgrains and other materials. We need not concentrate on big buildings for these factories. These factories, as far as possible, should fit into their surroundings. We have spent a lot over the buildings of the primary schools. Instead of having our vacations in the months of May and June, we can have them in the months of July and August when boys cannot sit outside, under the trees. What India needs today is determined and devoted workers who can create an impression on the villager that he is one of their own. In rural areas they like my *dhoti* and *kurta* because they feel that I am one of them. I don't mean to ask the officers who are working there to give up bushshirts and coats, etc. They are quite all right. However, those who have to work in the villages hand in hand with the rural people must change their approach and their mentality. That is

creating a new climate, a new sensation amongst the people living in the rural areas. They are still far behind, and they expect much from us.

2. MECHANICS OF THE FOURTH PLAN

THIS IS THE first meeting of this Council which will not have the guidance of Jawaharlalji. It was his vision that led to the introduction of planning in India and it was his example and advice that inspired many other developing countries. In Cairo the other day President Nasser said that he took the idea of planning from Jawaharlalji himself. As early as 1938, Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, then President of the Indian National Congress, set up a Planning Council of which Jawaharlalji was the chairman. It was again he who as the first Prime Minister set up the Planning Commission in 1950 and constituted the National Development Council.

Now he is no longer with us. But the objectives which he had set before the country are there to guide us. This is indeed a heavy burden that falls on our shoulders. I shall, therefore, need the fullest co-operation of this Council if I am to discharge my responsibilities adequately and I would suggest that we should meet at more frequent intervals than in the past, say, every 2 or 3 months, until we have given final shape to our Fourth Five Year Plan.

We have to function in a complicated world. On the one hand, the recent Non-Aligned Nations' Conference has emphasised co-existence, peace and disarmament. On the other, China has exploded an atom bomb. In accordance with our past traditions, we have to remain cool and deal with any situation which comes up with all the resources at our command and with all our might. Undoubtedly defence has assumed great importance for us. But we do not want to be war-minded. Nor do we want to create a climate of conflict and of cold war. India must fly the flag of peace. At the same time it must safeguard its freedom and maintain its integrity and sovereignty.

I made a reference to the world situation only to emphasise the fact that our strength even in relation to outside lies in what our real strength is within. In this background the remaining period of the Third Plan and the period of the Fourth Plan assume the highest importance.

We have before us a Memorandum on the Fourth Plan which has been prepared by the Planning Commission. It must be regarded as essentially a first approximation. It is the essence of the planning pro-



Inaugurating the Sharavathi Project in Mysore



Visit to the Dam

Addressing the World Conference on Peace and International Cooperation





*At the Plutonium Plant
of the Atomic Energy
Establishment at Trom-
bay, near Bombay*

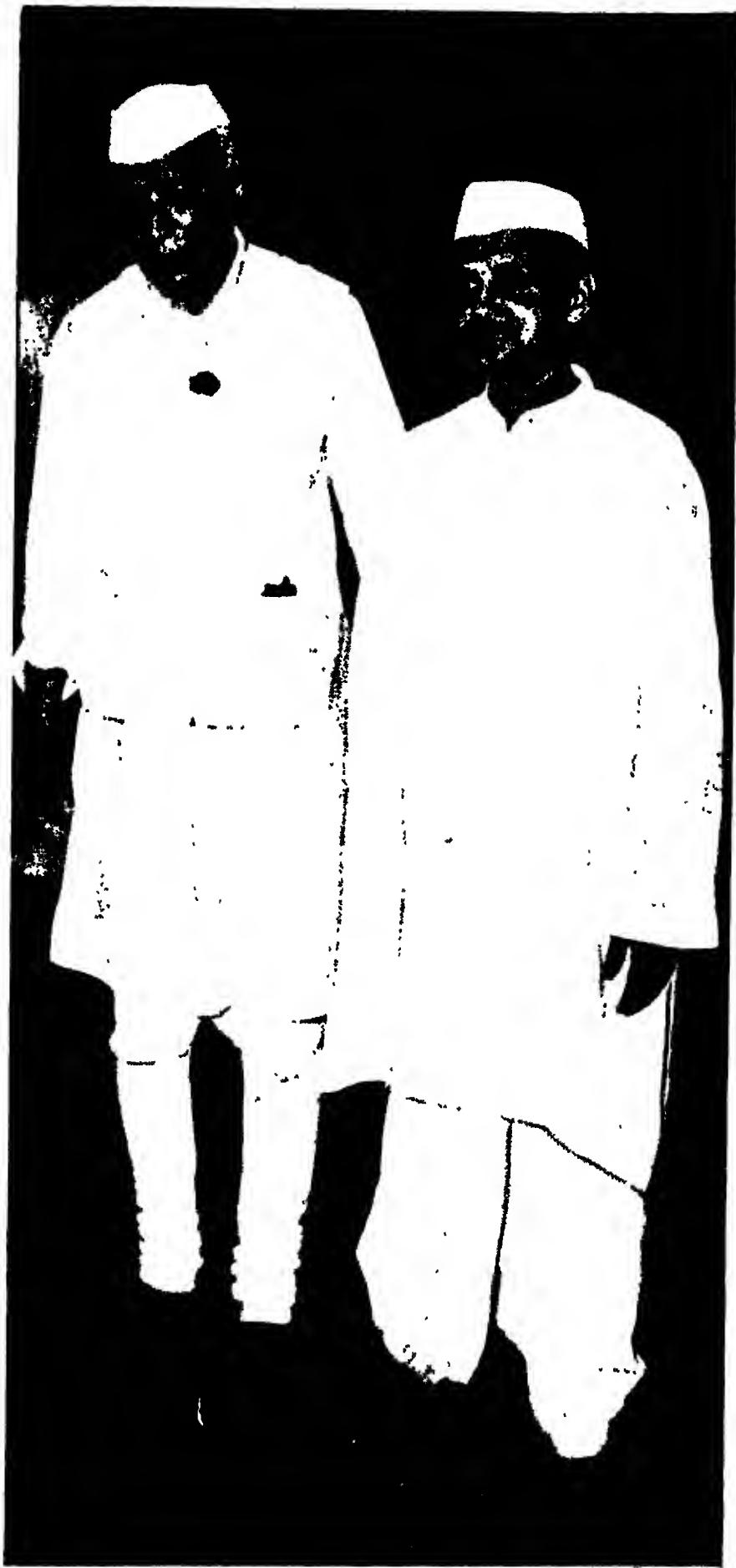


*Speaking at a function of
the Indian Institute of Public
Administration in New Delhi*



*Addressing the annual meeting of
the Associated Chambers of Com-
merce and Industry in Calcutta*

*With his mentor,
Jawaharlal Nehru*





A cherished visit to Visva-Bharati



With the Acharya of the Sanskrit University

cess to seek a balance between the problems of today and the potentialities of the future, between resources and needs and between the immediate and the ultimate.

There is no doubt that what we achieved specially in our First Plan is something to be proud of. The National income rose by 18 per cent surpassing the plan target of 12 per cent. We started well in the Second Plan but halfway through we ran into serious difficulties regarding foreign exchange and we had to prune many projects which did not form the core of the Plan. Nevertheless, with the additional external assistance which we received, we were able to achieve an increase of 21.5 per cent in our national income against the original target of 25 per cent.

Taking the decade covered by the first two Plans as a whole, national income increased by 44 per cent, per capita income by 18.5 per cent and per capita consumption by about 16 per cent despite the fact that population had grown by 21.6 per cent.

In regard to the Third Plan, the mid-term appraisal which was undertaken last year revealed that the progress in the first two years had been very slow indeed. Some of the reasons for it were undoubtedly outside our control. But we would be less than honest if we did not face up to the fact that our own performance was, in many respects, poor. Fortunately, in the third and fourth years of the Plan, progress has been somewhat better than in the first two years. But it is not good enough. The growth in national income was 2.6 per cent in 1961-62, 2.4 per cent in 1962-63 and a little above 4 per cent in 1963-64, while our aim was to have an increase of more than 5 per cent each year.

This sluggishness in our growth obviously calls for a redoubling of our efforts. If we are lagging behind, we must increase our speed. Unfortunately, the slow rate of growth has left us with less of resources. It has engendered a sense of frustration. Even the shortages and high prices are themselves the result of the slow rate of our progress. How do we overcome these difficulties is the real problem before us. We must, I think, look at the past in order to identify our achievements and failures and to ascertain the reasons for them.

I would, therefore, suggest that, apart from the consideration which the Council would be giving to the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan, we should apply our minds to a few specific and concrete problems confronting us. First and foremost, there is the problem of increasing agricultural production, of procurement of foodgrains and their distribution, also of the regular supply of a few other articles of basic consumption needs.

All of us know that our achievements in the agricultural sector have not been up to the mark. What we need now is a programme of concrete action. Such a programme to produce immediate results has to be conceived in terms of the resources and facilities which are available and
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not in terms of what might be done in ideal conditions or in the distant future. All too often there are complaints about the shortage of fertilisers because we do not produce enough and cannot import enough. But are we making the fullest possible use of compost manure and green manure and other indigenously available sources of nutrition for the soil? We are planning, and rightly, many major irrigation projects. But even while these are under construction, are we doing all we can in the field of minor irrigation? Cannot more wells be dug, cannot ponds be deepened, cannot the available waters of irrigation projects already completed be more fully utilised? Surely these are within our reach if we go about our task in a spirit of self-help.

All too often we think of these at the national level and the State level, while there is neglect and even confusion at the village level. The farmer has now to deal separately with representatives of different Government agencies each owing allegiance to a Department or Ministry at the headquarters of the State or Central Government. The coordinating role which the district officer used to play in the past has been lost. I would suggest to all the Chief Ministers present here today that they should restore to the District Magistrate, whether he is known as the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, the status of a coordinator of all governmental activities in the district and confer upon him the responsibility for guiding all the efforts undertaken on behalf of Government, Central or State. This may well mean splitting up the larger districts into more compact administrative units. This task should be faced as one of urgency. I would like to emphasise the fact although it might mean some additional expense. But it would be worthwhile splitting the bigger districts into two. We have very large districts, especially in Bihar and UP and perhaps also in West Bengal. For better administration it would be advisable to have smaller districts.

This toning up of administration is essential, whether we think of our short-term problems, or of long-term problems, of agriculture or of industry. Without better administration, control over prices, a more equitable distribution of available supplies and all the other things which we need to impart stability to the economy will be impossible. And again it is only through better administration that our public sector projects can be completed with speed and the private sector too can discharge its responsibilities in the way it should.

The main objective of the Fourth Plan must be to ensure a move towards better life for the common people and to ensure its momentum. We have, therefore, to aim at as large a Plan as we can possibly find the necessary resources for. The programme outlined in the Memorandum envisages an outlay in the public sector ranging between Rs. 14,500 crores and Rs. 15,000 crores against the estimated resources for the public sector of Rs. 14,500 crores. Even this order of resources is based on certain

assumptions.

Thus one of the main issues to which the Council should apply its mind today is the task of resource mobilisation. There had been shortfalls in the State sector during the Third Plan. We cannot take such a risk in the Fourth Plan. I say this not to find fault with the State Governments whose contribution to our resources is below the target. The National Development Council may well like to set up a Sub-Committee to consider this important matter in detail, as also that of priorities to be accorded.

So far as the rural population is concerned, no one likes to add to the burdens of the farmer. Yet, I know he would be willing to pay more if he sees some tangible results before his eyes. Perhaps, one reason why we find it so difficult to secure the cooperation of the farmer is that we do not establish the kind of visible link which is needed between the contribution which the farmer makes and the benefits that accrue to him. The farmer faces the Government in the person of a Collector of Revenues. He also sees a number of other people who are building roads, bridges, hospitals and schools, providing fertilisers, seeds and credit. He does not see the link between the two sets of operations. In my opinion, we shall have greater success in raising additional revenues from the agricultural community if we can give them the orientation and appearance of a betterment levy. Thus, if a new bridge is built and a toll charged for it, the user understands its logic and feels that he is paying for a service and not being taxed. The same logic applies to the other amenities which we provide. Of course, the bigger agriculturists can be expected to make larger contributions.

Another matter connected with resources in which we must all make a combined effort is in the earning of foreign exchange. Ever since 1958, the shortage of foreign exchange has been one of the most serious handicaps to our economic development. One reason why our decisions cannot be quick, why many factories have idle capacity, why machinery which is damaged or broken down cannot be replaced immediately, is the dire shortage of foreign exchange—which has persisted despite the aid that we have received. Foreign exchange continues to be a major matter of concern for us *vis-a-vis* our Fourth Plan.

It is thus essential that our export drive should do even better. Here again is a subject for which the Centre is responsible in a matter of form, but not in substance. The effort to increase our exports depends very considerably on the support and cooperation of the State Governments. It has also to be realised that sales tax and other things which are not really meant to affect the export trade are levied in a way which does not hamper our exports and raise their prices. May I suggest to the State Governments that it would be desirable to have a special cell in the appropriate department in the States which will pay special attention to

exports and give their support and cooperation to measures to increase our earnings of foreign exchange. Perhaps such cells already exist in some of the States.

Another matter in which cooperation between States is most essential is in respect of programmes relating to irrigation and flood control. It often happens that steps taken in one State lead to serious difficulties in another. For instance, there is the problem of water-logging which has a vital bearing on agricultural production. We have seen in recent months how vast areas of good agricultural land have been rendered unusable by flood waters which cannot be drained out. The worst position is, as we know, in Punjab and Delhi as also in parts of Uttar Pradesh. This is a problem which has to be dealt with on a regional basis and I think it would be desirable to consider the establishment of a special body to study this problem and to make concrete recommendations. I feel certain that if we can deal with this problem effectively, we would have made a substantial contribution towards increased food production.

The more I think of our problems today, the more convinced I am that there is much greater need for coordination and solidarity than is generally realised. The main task of the National Development Council should be to promote thinking on a national plane for the attainment of our national objectives. State Governments must certainly attach the greatest importance to the State Plans. They have to be discussed, however, within the framework of the National Plan and I feel that discussion at this meeting should be mainly on the National Plan and the national effort needed to sustain it.

I have deliberately refrained from going into the details of the Memorandum of the Planning Commission. This is because the Memorandum speaks for itself and I should like to leave it to the Deputy Chairman, who is a distinguished leader of an able team, to draw the Council's attention to the salient points of the Memorandum. The Planning Commission is the brains-trust of our development. It is not a part of the Central Government and we look to it for taking an objective view of our economic problems and how we should meet them. These problems have become more difficult and more complex.

Both the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and I have, therefore, felt that it would be an advantage if more experts could be associated with the preparation of the Fourth Plan. Unfortunately, the number of top-level experts in the country is limited and it is not easy for them to give up the important tasks on which they are already engaged in order to work on whole-time basis on the formulation of our Plan. I have, therefore, in consultation with the Planning Commission, come to the conclusion that it would be most useful if we were to constitute an *ad hoc* body consisting of scientists, engineers, economists and other experts who could help the Planning Commission on a part-time basis. The in-

tention is not to have yet another advisory body, nor a body which will meet for a day or two at long intervals, look at some memoranda, offer its comments and disperse, but to get people to work on the Plan, spending a week to a fortnight in Delhi at a stretch and giving their best to our national effort. It is proposed to call this body as "The National Planning Council" to consist of 15 to 20 people, with the Deputy Chairman as its Chairman.

What I should like to see in future is a complete, a self-contained and well-coordinated plan for industry and another for agriculture, each closely bringing out the employment aspect, which to my mind deserves deeper consideration. On the industrial side the detail of each major project should be worked out. The time-table of its implementation should be prepared fully and we should know what building materials, what machinery and what raw materials would be needed and when. In the past, the ultimate cost of a project has tended to be tremendously different from the original estimates. Some variations are understandable and inevitable, but we cannot allow the kind of differences that have frequently been known in our previous Plans. Similarly, we should have estimates of the cost of the ultimate product and the profits which we expect to make.

We have to adopt a project-approach towards agriculture also. We should know for each such project what supplies, what facilities are needed and also have an estimate of what extra production we hope to get thereby.

I should like to say here a word about the relative roles of the private sector and the public sector. Our objective, as you all know, is socialism. This does mean an immense growth of the public sector. In regard to the private sector each Plan sets out what the private sector will do and what the public sector will do. Failure in either sector affects the Plan and creates imbalances in the economy. We have, therefore, to ensure that the targets allotted to the private sector, no less than those allotted to the public sector, in our Plan are fulfilled. The private sector has had and will continue to have a role to play in our expanding economy.

The Industrial Policy Resolution has already brought out that the two sectors cannot work in water-tight compartments. In the context of rising prices and the difficulties which the common man has to face about basic consumer goods, it would be necessary that some of the consumer goods industries also are developed in the public sector. It seems to me that the Government should also set up textile mills, sugar factories and plants for the manufacture of cement, drugs and medicines; only then can we be assured that the shortages which we have been experiencing in the recent past will not become chronic. Such industries also will give us better profits and a scope for larger employment.

Heavy industries will, of course, continue to be the backbone of our economic development. Steel and machinery must be produced in larger

quantities. Care has, of course, to be taken, as I have had occasion to emphasise in the past, that we secure the utmost out of the investment which we make in heavy industry in the shortest possible time. Planning of heavy industries for the Fourth Plan has to be on the basis of performance. Only then will planning become more real and more accurate.

Unless we can stabilise prices, increase production and improve our administration, the most careful Plan will not help us. We who claim to be responsible to the people have to be responsible to them and we have also to be responsive to them. It is up to us to restore to them a sense of dignity and hope. Unless we are able to do this in the remaining year and a half of this Plan, our Fourth Plan may not succeed, no matter what resources we mobilise.

The Fourth Plan represents a challenge to the nation. The challenge can only be met if we are prepared to undertake the many tasks which confront us with a truly national approach. I am quite sure that the National Development Council will give the right lead to the country and the nation.

3. FOREIGN COLLABORATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

IN INDIA THE climate would be very favourable for private investment and for collaboration with Indian parties. It is difficult for me to give any exact figure but more or less the Public Sector and the Private Sector would be divided into half and half, that is referring to the size of the Plan in the industrial sector. Of course, British concerns have also collaborated with and helped and assisted the Public Sector projects. But in regard to the Private Sector, there will be ample opportunity and we would greatly welcome your cooperation.

We attach the highest importance in the present context to increasing agricultural production and the subject in which you are interested in, I mean, fertilisers, would naturally get the highest priority. Formerly the fertiliser was kept under the category of Public Sector projects. We have now decided that fertiliser projects could be both in the Public as well as the Private Sectors.

We have to expand our exports, but, at the present moment, we are mostly exporting agricultural products. We do want to diversify our exports and we would very much like that our engineering products

and goods may also be exported. We are short of chemicals and I don't think it would be easy for us to export chemicals in which you seem to be interested. But, with our development in the oil sector—as you know we are going to have a number of refineries in our country and side by side we will develop chemical industries—it would be possible to export chemicals as well.

Well, there has been some difficulty, I must admit, in capital formation, but we are paying special attention to it and I have every hope that things will improve very soon. However, in regard to foreign collaboration, sometime back the capital was over-subscribed, I mean the rupee capital. I think the same position may be in other cases. There might have been some difficulty, but by and large wherever there has been "foreign collaboration with some Indian concerns or any foreign company investing money on any project, the response in India has been on the whole satisfactory. However, I do not want to hide the fact that we have experienced some difficulty in this regard recently. We hope, we will be able to tide over the present difficulties in the existing situation.

4. DEPARTMENT-FARMER CONTACT

I AM ONE of those people who believe that free, frank and frequent exchange of ideas between the Government and different sectors of the community—businessmen, industrialists, labour leaders, social workers, educationists, etc.—is an essential part of the democratic process. I was, therefore, very glad to accept your invitation to come to this function.

Under the stewardship of Jawaharlal Nehru, to whom you have just paid a tribute, the Indian economy has acquired a new vitality. To millions of our countrymen, our Five Year Plans have given the first glimmer of hope for a better future. There are signs of a new dynamism on our farms and factories; and by and large, there has been a commendable display of mutual goodwill between labour and management, between industry and Government and indeed between different sections of our ancient community.

I am well aware that we are passing through a rather difficult period at the present moment, particularly in regard to economic conditions in the country.

In the initial months of the emergency created by the Chinese invasion, we were able to absorb the stress and strain of higher defence and developmental outlays without serious disturbance to the economy. Despite the diversion of scarce resources to defence purposes, we were able to maintain the tempo of expansion in industrial production and add modestly to our depleted foreign exchange reserves. Industrial production in 1963-64, the first full year after the Chinese attack, increased by 9.2 per cent as against an increase of 8 per cent in 1962-63 and 6.4 per cent in 1961-62. During the same year, our foreign exchange reserves showed a modest increase of Rs. 10.8 crores and we were able to repay some 50 million dollars to the International Monetary Fund. The general level of wholesale prices increased by about 9 per cent in 1963-64; but this in itself was not a very serious disturbance, particularly as it occurred after two years of virtual stability in the index of wholesale prices.

Unfortunately, agricultural output in the 1963-64 season did not show as great an increase as was expected at one time. It turned out to be virtually the same as was achieved three years ago at the end of the Second Plan. The stagnation in agricultural output taken as a whole over the past few years and the anti-social activities of some people have combined to create shortages and price increases over the past year. There are certain lessons which, I feel, can be derived from the experience we have had.

First and foremost, efforts to increase agricultural production on a steady, long-term basis deserve the highest priority. I have not the slightest doubt that our agricultural production can be substantially stepped up. Our agricultural production increased at the rate of 3.5 per cent per annum during the first two Plan periods. A significant feature was that in some parts of the country, in Gujarat, Punjab and Madras, an increase of more than 5 per cent per annum was achieved, while in Assam, Orissa and West Bengal there was only a marginal increase of about 1 per cent per annum.

There is no reason why the high rates of growth already attained in some parts of country should not be achieved all over the country. The farmer has to be provided with the necessary impetus—better seeds, better manures and irrigation and credit facilities. The Government is trying to do its utmost in this regard. However, the agricultural departments in the States have to be much more active. They must have more accurate figures about the production of different crops. The agricultural department and the Community Development Blocks must work for the proper supply and provision of these facilities. They must also see to it that they are fully utilised. There should be a common and consistent link between these departments and the farmers so that one helps and supports the other. A special spirit has to be

generated amongst the farmers so that they resolve to produce more, so that they can feed the country and also earn more for themselves. A concerted effort has to be made to achieve this result.

There was a reference to the possibility of increasing agricultural output by allowing large-scale production on a selected basis. Some people are of the opinion that we have not carried out land reform far enough in many places and that this has come in the way of the farmer doing his utmost to increase output. It seems to me that both these view-points have validity in the right place and for the right crop. Ceiling on land holdings are meant to reduce disparities and, along with the other measures for bringing waste lands under cultivation, afford better opportunities to the landless section of the population. At the same time, the Plan does visualise an exemption from ceiling in certain branches of agriculture, such as plantations, dairying, etc., which require large-scale investment on a long-term basis. The Plan also provides safeguards for efficiently managed farms which consist of compact blocks on which heavy investments have been made.

We are now in a stage of transition, moving from one Plan to another. This is undoubtedly the time for a cool appraisal of the effort that we have to undertake. There are and will be difficulties at each step in our march towards the goals of agricultural and industrial development, of better social services and of a society which ensures equality of opportunity to all the people—objectives which we, as a nation, have placed before ourselves since Independence. At each stage, we shall have to take note of any special difficulties that might arise and make necessary adjustments in our policies and operation devices. In today's situation we have to take measures to curb inflation. Some of these may seem somewhat irksome to Government departments which have been called upon to curtail expenditure, as well as to the private sector. But the steps necessary to check inflation are far less painful than the consequences of persistent inflation.

Even while we deal with our present problems and difficulties, we cannot lose sight of the future, we cannot afford to be faint-hearted. We must continue our efforts. We must find new ways of doing things better than in the past and we must seek new resources to sustain this performance in the future. This is a task in which your contribution can be a significant one.

A brief Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan has already been prepared. In a way, this Memorandum is essentially an invitation to Central Ministries, State Governments, private industry and others to submit or prepare more detailed programmes and projects as well as to work out supporting policy measures so that a draft Plan could be prepared and presented to the country for discussion and comment. Without even a rough preliminary framework, the various

agencies responsible for making detailed proposals do not have a reasonable basis for doing so. At this stage, therefore, the numbers and proportions and targets in the Memorandum on the Plan should not be looked as representing final or fully considered views and decisions. Much work remains to be done before even a draft of the Plan could be submitted.

The accent in the Fourth Plan must be on the well-being of the common man. In the course of the next ten years or so, it will be our endeavour to ensure a minimum living standard to our people. In the realisation of this objective the private sector will necessarily have to play an important role inasmuch as the consumer industries, including agriculture, fall almost entirely within the ambit of the private sector. The investment envisaged in the private sector as a whole would be more than a third of the total investment in the Fourth Plan and the share of the private sector in organised industries is expected to be almost half of the total investment in the industrial field. Such a large investment programme presents a challenge to private enterprise which has to press into service all its ingenuity to tap investible funds from all possible sources. It would, in particular be necessary to make special efforts for enlarging surpluses through cost reduction and increased efficiency and to utilise them for re-investment in the interest of the economy. The Government on its part will do all it reasonably can to assist private enterprise to fulfil the targets assigned to it in the Plan.

I know that there are many difficulties in the way of setting up new industries. The shortage of foreign exchange has been dogging us at every step. The aid which we receive from friendly countries no doubt makes a most valuable contribution. Private investment from abroad in appropriate fields, particularly in industries where we are seeking to introduce new techniques, has also to be stimulated. But above all, we must intensify our efforts to increase exports, both of our traditional items and of our newer products.

I am aware that there have been considerable difficulties in raising fresh capital in the market. Not many new industries have come up during the last two years. This slackness must go so that there is greater industrial output and more of employment. What measures need to be adopted to get over this sluggishness is a matter which is receiving serious attention of the Government. The responsibility for achieving the targets set in the Plan, whether for public or for private enterprise, is a national one and we have all got to put our minds together to ensure that the weakness of one sector does not impair the strength of another.

We have to keep our social objective clearly in view and the industrialists and businessmen and the Government have to work for one common objective. In that context the growth of private industries is welcome as it forms part of our economic development. Your organisation can play a vital role in the growth and expansion of industries

and create a new sense of purpose and achievement in the business community.

Industrialisation is not an end in itself. It is essential as it increases the supply of goods which people need and provides employment and livelihood to our growing population. Clearly then, in the choice of measures to help industry, the Government cannot forget the interests of labour, of the consumer. Indeed, the main reason why the Government tries to regulate and control industry is to ensure fair play to workers and consumers. The Bonus Commission and the Monopolies Commission became necessary because of this basic concern of the Government. Nothing would make the Government happier than to see an increasing sense of social responsibility in industry since this will make it possible for the Government to concentrate more on measures to help industry rather than to control it. Indeed, in the context of the present price situation, I feel that industry itself could and should evolve certain measures to ensure that its products reach the ultimate consumer at fair prices.

Apart from the workers it directly employs and the customers it serves, industry also has a responsibility to the community as a whole. I am glad that you welcome our efforts to eliminate tax evasion and avoidance, whether by big people or small. Each man who evades taxes adds to the burden which falls on the honest tax-payer. The Government must consider the question of unaccounted money seriously, and take steps to mitigate its evil. We do want the cooperation of all in this matter. Let us hope that the problem in its present formidable form will cease to exist.

5. PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES

THE YEAR 1965 falls in the middle of what the United Nations have designated as the Development Decade. In doing so, the United Nations have recognised that the crucial task before humanity today is to help the developing countries on the road to progress, to enable them to attain a reasonable standard of living and to banish hunger and disease and illiteracy from the world. Consultations towards this end at Government level have been going on at the UN and its specialised agencies, in the World Bank, in the GATT and in the International Monetary Fund and, last but not the least, in the United Nations Con-

ference on Trade and Development which met in Geneva last year.

It is in the fitness of things that such consultations and exchanges should take place not only between Governments but at all levels, particularly between representatives of industry, trade and banking and all the people who are engaged in different forms of economic endeavour which add to the wealth of the nations. The problems are many and great. Cooperation between Governments and cooperation between private bodies and agencies have to go hand in hand. I am confident that your deliberations will make a significant contribution to the dialogue between developed and developing countries and prove helpful to both.

We in India, as many of you may know, have been engaged, since our Independence, in the task of development through successive Five Year Plans. Two such Plans have been completed and we are about to enter the final year of our Third Plan. A period of fifteen years is not a long one in the history of a nation; yet we can look back with some satisfaction at what has been achieved in the last decade and a half. Despite the increase in population, we have managed to raise the *per capita* consumption of foodgrains and cloth. We have made a visible impact on illiteracy and disease. There has been an increase in the *per capita* consumption of shoes, bicycles and sugar. These commodities may seem quite elementary to you, but they are still not within the economic reach of large sections of our people.

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for over two-thirds of our population. In the first decade of planning, it recorded a rate of growth of nearly 3½ per cent a year, which is by no means small. But with about 30 per cent of the land still without irrigation, agricultural production in India continues to be dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon. The first three years of the Third Plan were years of relatively low production which caused an upsurge in prices in 1964. Fortunately the crop prospects now are remarkably good. The prices of foodgrains and other agricultural products have begun to come down. The shortages we experienced last year have brought home to all of us the crucial importance of agriculture. In the Fourth Plan, a concerted effort will be made to sustain a high rate of growth in agriculture.

Agricultural progress, vital as it is, cannot by itself solve the problem. The cultivated agricultural land comes to less than one acre per head of population. Only industry can relieve the pressure on land and thus make possible a real improvement in the standard of living of the people. Indeed, even agricultural development depends to a great extent on the supply of fertilisers and insecticides, steel and cement, which are the products of industry. There is no getting away from the fact that the industrial base has got to be widened in India. The production of engineering and chemical industries has been increasing in the past few years at rates close to 15 to 20 per cent per annum. Electricity generation

has been rising at the rate of more than 10 per cent per annum. Our steel production is now in the neighbourhood of 6 million tones and schemes for further expansion are in hand. In such progress as we have achieved so far the help and cooperation that we have received from other countries, large and small, from the East and the West, through private agencies and Government channels, has made the most significant contribution. But the fact remains that the *per capita* income of an Indian is still less than one rupee a day or less than six dollars a month.

If I have talked so far of Indian problems and of Indian experience, it is because I know them best and also because I feel that the basic problems which we have to face and which we are facing are common to all developing countries, whether they are in Asia or Africa or Latin America.

Basically, the greatest shortage in all developing countries is that of capital. While these countries must do everything possible to encourage the formation of domestic capital, it is quite clear that their own efforts will not suffice to achieve a tolerable rate of progress. In these circumstances the inflow of capital from communities with high levels of voluntary savings can make a tremendous difference to their rate of economic growth. It may well fill the huge gap between requirements and availability to which your President, Mr. Steel, has referred.

The difficulties and impediments which stand in the way need to be analysed objectively and dispassionately by a body like the T. C. C. There are many purely psychological factors on both sides. Investors are apt to feel that there are too many risks in investing in developing countries. On the other hand, in developing countries, partly for historical reasons, there are apprehensions that the influx of private foreign capital may lead to an indirect form of foreign influence. To what extent are the doubts on either side real and to what extent are they imaginary? How can they be allayed? These are practical issues which should be squarely faced. In doing so, there should be a genuine attempt to appreciate and understand the difficulties on both sides. Developing countries cannot expect that private capital will come to them on terms less favourable than are available to it elsewhere. Equally, investors must realise that the policies which developing countries pursue are born out of the hard realities of their own conditions. If they appear to tax industries heavily, it is because they have to provide so many services and utilities to sustain them, and because profits in sheltered markets, where scarcity rather than competition is the rule, tend to be high. If this Congress, with its constructive approach, comes forward with recommendations which take into account the realities of the situation, I have no doubt that a good deal of progress can be achieved in promoting liberal attitudes on either side.

Another major shortage which hampers development is that of

foreign exchange. This shortage is reflected in efforts to curtail domestic consumption in a country where the standards of consumption are already very low, so as to make more products available for export. But there are other factors too. All too often when developing countries are in a position to increase their exports to the markets of industrialised nations, they come up against barriers of a formidable nature. This is indeed a sad phenomenon in a world in which there is a growing recognition of the fact that greater and freer trade leads to greater prosperity. Most countries in Europe today have, through a Customs Union or a Free Trade Area Agreement, abolished trade barriers between themselves. Yet the same countries seem to turn protectionist when it comes to admitting imports from developing countries. Far from receiving preferential treatment which would help, provide resources for development, they often come up against restrictions of a discriminatory nature. Although these impediments formally emanate from the Governments concerned, the actual pressure behind them is that of industrialists and businessmen. It seems to me, therefore, that the I.C.C. which has always stood for freer trade, can usefully propose ways and means whereby developing countries can have better access to the markets of industrialised countries.

Technology is yet another field in which greater cooperation between nations would accelerate the pace of development in many parts of the globe.

Despite the very valuable services provided by the I.C.C. there still remains a great need for cooperation at the operational levels, between enterprises and industrial units, so that know-how could be transmitted directly from user to user. How cooperation in these matters can be further strengthened will, I trust, be engaging your attention in your deliberations here.

6. THE GANDHIAN WAY

THE PROBLEM of the social responsibilities of the business community is essentially a part of our outlook on life. It has largely to do with the kind of society we aim at.

We in India are passing through a period of transition from a predominantly rural-agricultural economy to industrialisation on a comprehensive and widespread scale. In our recent history we have had a foretaste of the problems and the social instabilities that stem from economic transition and the process of industrialisation.

In a pre-industrial society the change is gradual and slow. It is governed by the general acceptance of certain patterns of rights and obligations. This keeps its level of material well-being low, but socially it is more peaceful. Industrialisation has a tendency to disrupt social peace. In several ways it upsets the established order of the social system and the scales of social balance. Certain adjustments and the readaptation of a new set of social relationships become necessary.

Industrialisation immediately introduces a striking change in the whole complex of social relationships. This causes two kinds of strife. First, those who participate in it argue about the division of proceeds as between workers and entrepreneurs. The second kind of strife arises from the protests of those sections and regions which do not immediately get a share in the expanding industrial activities. In the initial phase of industrialisation there is an exodus of labour from the villages to the towns. Towns begin to attract labour and expand much faster than housing, transport, water and other amenities can. This results in congestion and over-crowding and throws up the problems of slums, sanitation and the like. Later, when the pattern of industrialisation begins to diversify new industries based on new and labour-saving techniques are set up. This creates the difficult problem of technological employment. The point of all this is that the process of economic growth has an inherent tendency towards imbalance. Basically it is a problem of growth itself, but the consequences ensuing from this seep down to the very roots of the country's life.

Gandhiji had foreseen these problems and had given considerable thought to them. It is a well-known fact that the Indian National Congress under his leadership was not concerned with the winning of political freedom only. It had a social objective also. Gandhiji was a strong advocate of the ideal of Sarvodaya which meant the moral and material well-being of all sections of the community. He paid special heed to the requirements of the poorest and the lowliest strata of society.

It is widely believed that Gandhiji was opposed to heavy industry. In his writings, there is abundant evidence that he recognised the evils that come in the wake of heavy industrialisation. But, although a protagonist of the *Charkha*, at heart he was no enemy of the mill owner. As he himself once said, "Do I seek to destroy the mill industry, I have often been asked. If I did, I should not have pressed for the abolition of the excise duty. I want the mill industry to prosper, only I do not want it to prosper at the expense of the country." He, however, held very strong views about the share that labour should have in industry. Many a time he said that labour was superior to capital and he had always been a champion of the legitimate rights of labour. But at the same time he wanted harmony and cooperation between the two, or, as he put it, "a marriage between capital and labour".

Gandhiji recognised that while all men should have equal opportunity, all did not have the same capacity. Some had the ability to earn more than others. But he believed that those who had talent would be performing the work of society if they used their talent wisely and well. Gandhiji said that he would allow a man of intellect to earn more and not suppress his talent. But it was his view that the bulk of his larger earnings should be used for the good of the State, just as the incomes of all earning sons of the father go to the common joint family fund. Those with talent and opportunity would find their highest fulfilment as trustees. This concept of trusteeship was one of the dominant trends in Gandhiji's political and social philosophy, and he extended this concept of trusteeship to cover all fields of life.

Gandhiji was a saint and not all that he preached and practised can be applied in our mundane society. But in our own humble way we are trying to build a welfare State on a socialist democratic pattern. The criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit but social gain. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society, and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of income, wealth and economic power.

The importance of the role to be played by the businessmen in the establishment of the new order cannot be over-emphasised. It is, I venture to think, even greater than that of the economist and the politician. Too often the community views the businessmen's aims as selfish gain rather than advancement of general welfare. That impression can be removed only if business becomes fully alive to its social responsibilities and helps our society to function in harmony as one organic whole.

There is a feeling that the present laws regarding companies concern themselves more with the rights and privileges of the shareholders and workers and tend to ignore the rights of the consumers and the community. Under the pressures of shareholders and trade unions, the company management has a tendency to become less sensitive to the interests of the consumers and the community. The company must act as a citizen of the community. It can be transformed into a social entity through a combination of public spirit and shrewed business sense.

Instances where employee's participation in equity has been highly beneficial to shareholders are forthcoming in the case of a few progressive concerns in the USA and the UK. It is possible that the good example set by such progressive companies will in due course radiate to countries where there are such organisations. Where, however, the companies are not voluntarily going to follow this lead, legislation to that effect has been suggested. It has also been felt that democratic principles of consent and participation of the governed must be incorporated in the Company Law by suitable amendment whereby the workers, consumers, the

COMPLEMENTARY ROLE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

community and the shareholders voice their views in the council not as a matter of grace but of right.

I do believe that India must ever preserve her soul. We must develop but we must not allow the profit motive to be the only goal of economic activity. Men of business and industry must accept a voluntary ceiling on profits and dividends as a first step. This would surely help in some measure to remove the feeling that seems to divide those who have and those who are still in want. Secondly, the workers must be associated effectively with the management so that the thrill of participation in the task of building up the country can be imparted to them. Only then can a truly cooperative endeavour be generated. I feel confident that labour will respond with dignity and responsibility.

Finally, we must reject the doctrine that in business what matters is the end and not the means. Let us look not to the immediate profit but to the long-term gain. Let us build on strong foundations that will stand the test of time. I would suggest that men of business and industry might consider the adoption of a code of conduct for themselves. Taken together, these ideas might help in the establishment of a new society which meets the material requirements of our people by giving them a better standard of living without denuding them of what we have always held precious through the ages.

7. COMPLEMENTARY ROLE OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

THREE IS NO doubt that economic development is the keynote of our policies and programmes. Progress has to be made both in the agricultural as well as the industrial sector. Undoubtedly, we have passed through a crisis in so far as the question of foodgrains was concerned. It was a difficult period, a period of scarcity as well as of soaring prices. We pursued a policy with which perhaps you did not agree. I must be frank; the Government did not get any cooperation from the trading community, especially in dealing with foodgrains and we had, therefore, to adopt a particular policy of greater regulation and check. You will excuse me, if I say so, that your Federation has also not been very helpful in this regard. You just kept quiet, did not give proper advice to the trading community. And I once pointed it out to you when some of you were good enough to meet me. However, I must say that our policy has borne fruit. There were difficulties, but ultimately the despatch of foodgrains on State-to-

State basis has done the job of meeting the needs of the different States and of the country as a whole. I do not say that people had not to face difficult situations. And yet there was no alternative for the Government but to adopt this technique. We have entrusted to each State Government, especially the surplus States, to procure foodgrains or to purchase it either through the mills or through wholesalers or even directly where they find it necessary or where they can do it. And this procurement and purchase is going ahead in so far as rice is concerned. We have been able to procure about eight lakh tonnes of rice, if not a little more than that. I don't know whether we will be able to reach our target of about eighteen lakh tonnes. We have had a very good rice crop, may be of the order of 39 million tonnes. We expect to have a good rabi crop and with the help of the indigenous production as well as with imports, especially from the United States of America, we will try to build up a buffer stock so that in times of difficulties, this buffer stock would come to our rescue. The market may not go up and down and create difficulties for the common man. It is, therefore, that we still stick to each State being a zone. However, I must say that we do not feel satisfied with the present arrangements. Either we have bigger zones or we treat the whole country as one zone. We will certainly have to consider this.

In so far as industries are concerned I am sorry to note that you have drawn up a very gloomy picture. As far as I can judge, there has been constant progress and development. We have set up a large number of new industries both in the public and private sectors. There might have been some delay or even slow progress in certain sectors or in some of the projects during this period. But taken as a whole, I think, our future seems to be quite bright and hopeful. I might mention that in the last year of the Third Plan we expect to have much greater production and perhaps the greatest during the last few years. There will be an additional output of around a million tonnes of cement during the last years of the Third Plan. We expect an increase of nearly 1½ million tonnes in the production of finished steel in the next 24 months, aluminium output should rise by more than 25 per cent in the coming fiscal year. Fertiliser production will go up by 100,000 tonnes in terms of nitrogen. Considerable additional capacity will come into production in a number of basic chemical industries such as caustic soda. Paper is another item of common use in which additional capacity will result in larger output. The coal industry, which has had to face a slackening of demand for some time, can look forward to a sizable increase in output with the increased requirements of industries like steel and cement. As a result of the credit made available from the International Development Association, the percentage of production of certain key engineering industries, such as machine tools, electrical equipment and commercial vehicles, &

expected to increase by 25 to 30 in the coming years. Most of these items to which I have referred are those which will help both industry and agriculture to raise their levels of output.

You have referred to the shortage of power as one of the things impeding production. I wonder if you realise that in the last year of the Plan the increase in power generation capacity will be as much as the total power generation capacity which existed in the country before planning began. It would mean a major step-up of nearly 25 per cent in power availability from this year to the next. The impact of this additional power and our industrial and agricultural production should, on any judgement, be tremendous. You will also agree that in the matter of medium and small-scale industries we have made tremendous progress. In fact, there has been a revolutionary change in this sector.

You have complaints about heavy taxation. But it seems to me that there is no alternative to it in the general interest of our society. We have big responsibilities, we have to find resources for the implementation of our Plan, of our different programmes and we have to achieve certain targets. In that context, I said, we have to have heavy taxation. It is not possible to have some kind of free economy in our country. We also cannot have a regimented type of economy. Our objective, as you know, is socialism. We will have to evolve our own pattern; the pattern may be something new for us, new for other countries. There has to be mixed economy; that is both the public and the private sectors will have to function in India. I would suggest that the private sector and the public sector should not contradict each other. The public sector naturally will have a bigger change in our allocations, in our Plans. But the private sector will also be fairly big as indicated in the Memorandum in connection with our Fourth Five Year Plan. In fact, private and public sectors have to pull together and they should be called complementary and supplementary to each other. Wherever public sector projects have come up, a large number of private industries have also been established. In fact new cities and new colonies have come up around the public sector projects. In the circumstances, I do not feel that there is any conflict or clash between the public and the private sector companies or factories.

You have rightly laid stress on greater production and that is the essence of the matter. What our country needs today is greater and higher production and, as I said, whether it is done in the private sector or in the public sector it means the same thing for us. It really means giving more employment to people as well as getting more goods within India so that we do not have to depend on foreign countries. We have in our Budget proposals provided for incentives for greater production. In fact the budget, if I might say so, is production-oriented. Relief in excise duties had been provided for. If there is greater production in certain commodities, there

can be relief in excise duties. There has also been reduction in personal taxation and as far as I can see the taxation measures have been rationalised and put on a somewhat stable basis.

We are faced with a difficult foreign exchange situation. We have often been experiencing this difficulty during the last 12 or 14 years. However, at the present moment, it is a very serious situation. Naturally it would be suggested that we should take more aid or loan from foreign countries. It might also be said that we should have more inflow of foreign capital. We do not object to it. In fact if it is generally in consonance with our policies, we do welcome foreign collaboration and foreign participation. We also have to borrow because our commitments are very heavy. But ultimately the real solution of the problem is in larger exports. It is to this field that the industries have to pay a very special attention. The production, of course, has to be increased, but with that the quality and the cost are equally important. Here in this field also, the Budget proposals do provide for incentives so that we as an under-developed country can compete with the developed countries of the world in the export market. I shall not go into details. In the matter of setting up of our projects we often depend on foreign know-how and the preparation of project reports is also given to foreign consultants or foreign technicians. We have a number of laboratories where applied research is being done on an extensive scale. You also have a number of laboratories associated and attached to your industries. I think it is high time that we considered the necessity of utilising our own know-how. It is much easier and much quicker to hand over the full work to foreign participant or foreign collaborator or foreign technician, but if we really want to build up India, we will have to depend more and more on our technicians, on our engineers and on our scientists. I know even the public sector projects have also not been very helpful and very accommodating in this matter. I must admit it. But, I would beg of you to fully utilise the talents of the researchers and the technicians who are available in our own country.

You have made a reference to the Fourth Plan. It has to be bold and ambitious. It is needless to say that our needs and requirements in every sector of our country are tremendous. Even the Rs. 21,500 crores outlay is not enough to meet all the demands of the various State Governments or of our different Ministries in the Government of India. I would a peal to you not to adopt a negative attitude. If you come up with constructive suggestions, whatever facilities you ask for will be made available to you.

The Plan as I have often said would not give us real satisfaction unless it provides a real relief to the common man. Every man must have enough to eat, enough to clothe himself, should have shelter, should have educational facilities and should have opportunities for recreation. The

minimum necessities of life have to be provided to the people. And I would consider the Plan successful only if we can at least move in this direction. The economic growth and the unity of the country are the two most important and basic things. In so far as economic problems are concerned we will try to tackle them as best as we can. In so far as the unity of the country is concerned, there might be temporary upsurges here and there and sometimes we might even resort to violence. It is quite wrong that we should almost try to compel the hands of the Government to do things according to their wishes. Yet it is important for all our countrymen to realise the fact that we are a democratic country and those who govern are the chosen representatives of the people. So long as they are there, there should be an opposition, a constitutional opposition, an opposition within limits of decency. And there should be no defiance of law altogether. However, I have every hope that in spite of the momentary upsurges it should be possible for us to maintain the unity of our country. If this unity is maintained I have no doubt that we will go ahead with courage and determination and the country will progress.

8. PLANNING HAS NO RIGID STRUCTURE

MR. CHAIRMAN, I am most grateful to the East India Association and the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society for inviting me to this function. I am extremely happy that this gives me an opportunity to meet so many friends of my country who have been in one way or the other associated with India and have spent several years of their lives in my country. The existence of organisations such as yours has kept alive the long connections between our two countries. While official and diplomatic relations are important I think the kind of links provided by organisations such as yours are, if anything, more valuable as these are not connected with the shifting sands of politics.

As you know just a little over a year ago we lost the leader who had for 17 years guided our country through the maze of difficulties that face a country on achieving independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has left to us both the ideals to realise and the firm foundations on which to build. He has left us the ideal of achieving a social welfare state where poverty will have been banished, where every man shall have equal opportunity regardless of creed and colour.

The major instrument of achieving a social welfare state in an under-developed country has to be the Government. You are all familiar with our Five Year Plans. They provide both for state enterprise and private enterprise. When planning a social welfare state we do not envisage any kind of rigid structure. One major element in the implementation of these plans is made up of foreign exchange for which we depend upon credits and loans from friendly countries. I am happy to state that we receive these from your country, the United States and other members of the Aid-India Consortium as well as the Soviet Union and several East European countries. We are grateful for this aid and hope that it will continue in increasing measure because our needs at the moment are very great. Apart from the aid that we receive from foreign governments we welcome private investment from abroad and we have taken measures which we hope will encourage some private investment in India.

Our Third Five Year Plan is now about to end and we shall shortly be entering into the period of our Fourth Plan. Looking to the tremendous needs of the country and the urgent necessity for quicker growth and development it has to be a Plan much bigger in size than our previous Plans. In fact it is expected to be bigger than the last three Plans put together. This will need huge resources, both internal and external. The country will have to bear a heavy burden but there is no choice because we cannot halt in our onward march.

Agriculture and industry are the two most important elements of the Plan. Agriculture has assumed added importance because we have to reduce the present heavy dependence on imports and make ourselves self-sufficient in food. Not only that, many of our agricultural products command good market abroad and we have to produce the necessary surplus for exports.

The implementation of the Fourth Five Year Plan is going to be a very challenging task and our people have to rise to the occasion. We also hope to get assistance from you and other friendly countries.

India is treading a new path. It has decided to implement its economic programmes and policies through democratic means. This is not an easy venture and yet we have pursued it during the last fifteen years with considerable success. The pace may be somewhat slow here and there, yet the ideal we have placed before us is good and noble and in the larger interest of humanity.

In the political field the concept of parliamentary democracy has been well and truly established. I am proud to say that despite many doubts that were expressed at the time of independence every Indian has shown himself to be capable and indeed eager to exercise his democratic rights which he cherishes. I think it will be hard for you to find any other democracy where there prevails, despite several religions and languages, the kind of freedom that is enjoyed by all in India.

I think you will agree with me that the great experiment of parliamentary democracy and planned economy which does not exclude the private sector is a bold and ideal solution to the problems of our Asian and African countries. I think we have tried to show in India that this is possible despite severest handicaps of poverty, illiteracy and a huge population which is made up of persons of different religions and speaking different languages.

As you know we are a peaceful people and our whole emphasis since Independence has been not to make India a military power but to devote all our resources and energies to economic growth. China, on the other hand, has built up the largest conventional forces in the world. It has also entered the field of nuclear power with a big bang. It seems more and more essential that China is brought into the world comity of nations and subjected to the disciplines inherent therein so that the present acute tensions and conflicts are somewhat lessened and reduced.

The Chinese nuclear explosions have naturally caused us much concern. We are strengthening and modernising our armed forces and this has inevitably placed a great burden upon the country. But in the field of nuclear energy we have decided not to use our nuclear capacity for destructive purposes. I think it is not too difficult for any one to visualise the result if more countries like India set out to develop nuclear weapons. It will see the world going almost headlong down the steep slope of nuclear proliferation. The very fact that we have decided to refrain from such a step, despite the considerable dangers to which we are exposed, is a measure of our devotion to the cause of world peace.

9. INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY VITAL FOR EXPORTS

OUR LARGE IMPORTS have led to a difficult foreign exchange position. Exports have not been stepped up to the extent necessary. Because of the shortage of foreign exchange, the industry has naturally suffered. It could not obtain the necessary raw materials and the components. In the circumstances, it is necessary to take various measures to meet the difficult situation. We will have to step up exports, at least of those items which bring us foreign exchange. These items may be needed in the country but we have to make sacrifices in our larger interests.

Every industry and public undertaking, whatever it produces, can export a part of it. For instance, wagons are in great demand in some

countries. India produces them in large numbers. It should be possible to increase our production capacity to meet the needs of the country and also export them. India does not produce many ships but it should be possible to export at least one. Steel and edible oils are other items which could bring adequate foreign exchange. Edible oils alone could earn the country Rs. 15 crores to Rs. 20 crores in foreign exchange.

It is necessary to pay attention to quality and cost if exports were to be stepped up. Unless we can compete in the world market, exports will just not be possible. I suggest the adoption of a specific programme in respect of cost and quality. Through better techniques, better management and better utilisation of men and machines, costs could be brought down and quality improved. It is unfortunate that things are getting costlier day by day. This question deserves the most earnest consideration. If possible, a committee may be set up to find out why the costs were rising. India was producing steel at a lower cost. Now the cost has gone up considerably. The Minister of Steel is considering the question of setting up of a committee to look into the matter. The Productivity Council should give thought to this question and suggest how costs of production could be lowered so that India could compete in the world market.

In the present situation it is extremely important to step up exports and to cut down imports. As far as possible, the country should find substitutes for imported items.

It will be necessary to adopt an incentive scheme. Incentives generate a special desire among workers to produce more. As Minister for Transport, I had introduced an incentive scheme at Bombay. As a result, the output doubled.

In a planned economy, there have to be controls. But checks and regulations, when they come in the way of increased production, do not help. Our real objective is the setting up of new industries and increasing production. I can understand that there should be controls to ensure that no monopolies are built up. At the same time, it is necessary to see that once an industrial licence is issued, there should be minimum checks and regulations. At present there are considerable checks at different stages. These should be examined to see if these were really necessary, as this question is related to better production and higher productivity.

Unless there is satisfactory management, whatever industry is set up it would not pay. I suggest a general audit and a cost audit. There should also be a performance audit.

I am glad that the Productivity Council had included agriculture in its programme. It has caused me much concern to see that the people are still in an extremely difficult position so far as food is concerned. As present there is a lean period. It will continue till the middle of

September. There has been no rain. This is naturally causing Government anxiety. Our agricultural yield per acre is very low. There has to be a coordinated effort by different departments in rural areas. Government departments should also secure the cooperation of Panchayats and farmers. There is need for better management in the field of agriculture.

I sometimes felt that one year should be devoted completely to agriculture. Other things should, of course, continue but whatever additional expenditure was to be incurred should be incurred on agriculture. Let us provide the necessary inputs for agriculture. Let us improve our administration in rural areas. Let us do whatever is needed.

10. SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD : A MAJOR GOAL OF PLANNING

WHEN WE MET here last, it was felt that we should increase the size of the Plan from Rs. 21,500 crores to Rs. 22,500 crores. This increase of Rs. 1,000 crores in the public sector would generally meet the needs of the country and also to a larger extent meet what our States want. This matter was carefully considered here and several exercises were made. Ultimately, the Resources Committee and the Planning Commission came to the conclusion that it was not possible to raise resources for the public sector beyond Rs. 13,850 crores. In the circumstances we had to decide what the size of our Plan should be. The Planning Commission held a number of meetings to consider this and at the last meeting, where I also happened to be present, it was decided that we should have a Plan of Rs. 21,500 crores because it was essential that we keep within the limits of the resources available to us. I think that keeping everything in view, this Council will also agree that we should have a Plan of this order and as far as possible we should not go below it.

The size of the Plan is, no doubt, important but its content is even more important and in fact it is the content which would provide the result. There are various sectors in which we have to spend big amounts and they are essential. But naturally the highest priority has to go to agriculture. I think, agriculture, industries, irrigation, power, road, transport, education and medical facilities are some of the important subjects which have to be given high priority. But, as I have always been emphasising, the need for increased agricultural production is paramount. Most of our economic

development in fact depends upon agriculture and increased agricultural production. Again, in regard to prices and our foreign exchange difficulties, we cannot achieve much without higher food production. We cannot for ever depend on imports from foreign countries.

It is stated in the Draft Memorandum that at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan, we will become self-sufficient in the matter of food. But just for precaution's sake I would say that we should at the very least be in a position to drastically cut down our imports. So for agriculture we have to provide the largest funds. But the main question to consider is whether we can absorb the funds provided. The development of agriculture is a much more difficult process than the setting up of industries because it is a decentralised sector. You have to do it in a big and extensive area. And there is, if I might say so, not enough of coordination between the different wings of the Agricultural Department. It is, therefore, not an easy matter to absorb the funds provided for agriculture. We should see to it that agriculture will not suffer for lack of funds. If the allocations made are spent and are utilised and if more money is needed we should not hesitate to cut down something else and provide the necessary funds for further expenditure on agriculture.

We have also to see that in the first year of the Fourth Five Year Plan, we give our fullest attention to agriculture. In fact, I had once suggested and would suggest even now that in the first year, the highest priority in regard to funds should be given to agriculture and necessary funds found for it. I do not say that other things must be cut down. For example, in the first year, if we try to complete all the industrial projects we have in hand and which have not been completed by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, we can concentrate on those projects. Then we can take up other projects which would yield quicker results. So in the first year of the Fourth Five Year Plan, we will have enough work to do in every sector. But what I had suggested, and would suggest today, is that we should be prepared to make any sacrifice in the first year of the Plan with a view to providing adequate funds for agriculture. This will need an integrated Plan. I am glad that the Planning Commission is trying to prepare an integrated plan for agriculture. I understand that some note has been circulated to the Chief Ministers, a draft on integrated plan for agriculture. It is a draft plan. It may have to be considered further and naturally your advice will be very valuable.

I need not say much about education or medical facilities. But I am glad that the Plan has not laid much stress on purely literary education. What is essential is that we should see to it that the boys who are educated do get employment and they do not remain unemployed. Merely having academic qualifications and then loitering about here and there leads to frustration. So whereas it is essential that the highest importance should be attached to technical education, we should not spend much on

large number of colleges or universities. I am all for primary education, for adult education and technical education. I do not say that literary education should not be further expanded but there has to be a reasonable limit. We have to view it in the context of all the other urgent needs we are faced with.

About irrigation, I need not say much because its importance is all very well-known to us. I think our peasant who is still not so much technological-minded believes that if he gets water, he will produce much more, if not double the quantity. Therefore, irrigation along with power, acquires great importance.

I would like to lay stress on rural electrification because it means that we can provide pumping sets in the rural areas which would help peasants and provide them with irrigation facilities. Power for industry is important but we cannot ignore rural electrification. So these are some of the important sectors which should receive high importance and I know that the planners do also think more or less on the same lines.

About the resources, it is going to be a very difficult and onerous task to find something of the order of Rs. 3,600 crores. This has to be done through taxation mostly. Of course, there may be some other sources too, but mostly it has to be through additional taxation. And as far as I can judge, the State Governments are prepared to fulfil their quota. I have not talked to all the Chief Ministers but last time when we had met here, I had a meeting with some of the Chief Ministers and they told me, in fact they wanted a somewhat bigger Plan, that they would be prepared to reconsider the matter. However, if they think in terms of Rs. 22,500 crores or Rs. 23,000 crores, then I have no doubt that they are prepared to discharge their responsibility of finding the resources allocated to the States. It is, therefore, important that the States should try to find the necessary resources. I do not know what they will be able to do now or in the next Budget. There might be some difficulties. But I got the impression from some of the Chief Ministers that they might do something even now by imposing fresh taxes or raising the rates of electricity or irrigation. However, I would leave it to the State Governments to decide as they think best.

External resources have also to be found and we have suggested that it should be to the tune of about Rs. 4,000 crores. Of course, it all depends on the goodwill of the countries which have been helping us and also institutions like the World Bank, etc. Naturally, they will expect that we should do something on our own. We should make our own contribution and as you might have seen, and you know it of course, our Finance Minister placed a supplementary Budget recently before Parliament. It is an indication of the fact that we are prepared to bear greater burdens with a view to giving a new fillip to our Fourth Five Year Plan and also show to the world that if they will continue their help or if they will increase

their assistance, we on our part will also try to match it and do much more than what they will give, and thus produce conditions in the country which would be in the larger interests of the people.

This supplementary Budget, as far as I can judge, does not touch the interests of the common man. I mean he has not been affected and mostly those who reap very high profits have been taxed the most. Heavy levies have been imposed on some of the items which are sold on a profit of about 400 per cent, 500 per cent, 800 per cent for copper, lead, zinc, etc. There is, of course, an additional burden and it has to be borne by the country. As I have said both for our internal resources as well as external resources, we have to do our utmost and see to it that there is no shortfall in our Fourth Five Year Plan. If we have decided upon the size of the Plan and if we agree that it should be of the order of Rs. 21,500 crores, we have to make every effort possible to see that it is fully implemented and fully completed and that there is absolutely no shortfall. For that, as I said, both internal and external resources are important and you have to keep a constant watch on the resources position. If we can do better, if we can get more resources, we can add to the Plan, we can expand it. But we have also to keep it in mind that in case the resources are not available or they are available in lesser quantities, then we may have to curtail or cut down our Plan because we cannot go beyond our means. Otherwise, there will be inflation. We have, as a policy, decided that we will not take any steps which would lead to inflationary tendencies. There will be no deficit financing. The State Governments have to keep this in mind.

One of the most important things we have to do in regard to resources is the cutting down of our expenditure. The Central Government is also fairly guilty of the fact that it has not been able to cut down much of expenditure. We did try it and we have succeeded to some extent but we will have to economise our expenditure much more. We have added a number of departments and, perhaps, the same is the case with the States. I think it is time that we carefully considered the question of effecting economies in our expenditure both at the Centre and in the States. As I said, if we do want that there should be no shortfall in our Plan, we have to pay special attention to the implementation of the Plan, of our projects, of our schemes. If those responsible for the execution of the Plan are remiss or if they do not perform their duty satisfactorily, then whatever the funds or whatever the allocations we have, it would not really work. The performance has to be very good, very efficient and very satisfactory. I have already referred to the implementation of our agricultural plans.

I am especially referring to it because it has much to do with the work which is actually being done in the field, whether it is irrigation or power, supply of fertilisers, etc., or supply of seeds, credits, or other inputs. The point is that there should be better coordination and consistent improvement. We have to keep a watch on this. We see the results on paper and

come to judgements on the basis of the reports we get. Coordination may have to be done in the Secretariat but it is much better that some of us sit down in the villages and work out the scheme of coordination after actually finding out the difficulties of the people, of the cultivator, of the farmer. We go there only once or twice. Naturally, we are surrounded by the officers and we are not in a position to know the objective facts. It is, therefore, much better that the Plan or the scheme is actually drawn up in the villages. It may be vetted and polished at the Secretariat level but it is, perhaps, essential that we go to the villages and find things out. For example, there are canals but people do not get water at the correct time. When they do not want it, they get it in surplus. Then there is a good deal of corruption in the Irrigation Department. That apart, but as I said, there has to be coordination between different departments. I really do not know if we do need so many departments but that is a matter which you will have to look into. However, it is essential that there should be much greater coordination and we should see to it that actual results are produced in the fields.

I have said recently and the Home Minister will give thought to the setting up of a High-Power Commission in regard to the improvement in administration, that is, what steps should be taken at the Secretariat level, at the Directorate level and at the District level, and what improvements should be made, and what delays come in the way of the quick implementation of these schemes.

The success of our Fourth Five Year Plan is an important matter. I would merely say that this Plan has a special purpose and it is essential that in the course of the next five years, that is the Fourth Five Year Plan, we should be in a position to give, as I have often said, the basic necessities of life to the people—food, clothing, shelter, education, medical facilities. If we cannot provide these things, well, the Plan has no special significance for me. I know that there are various other factors which lead to general economic development and those steps have to be taken but these direct issues have to be tackled. The direct problems which I have just now mentioned have to be tackled and we should, in that respect, also see that definite results [are] achieved.

Another problem is that of prices. It is one of the things which is greatly troubling the people. It has at least caused disturbances in my mind. In regard to the basic necessities of life, it should be possible for us, in the course of the Fourth Five Year Plan, to supply those items to them at a reasonable price, which should be within the means of the people, of the wage earners and of the middle class families.

Our objective is socialism and we have to proceed in that direction. We have to fight monopolies and we must see that there is equitable distribution of wealth and national income. This is our objective and with a view to achieving this objective, we have to execute and implement this Plan.

CHAPTER III

FOOD PROBLEM

I. TACKLING THE PROBLEM

THE PRESENT PROBLEM of tackling the food situation can be considered in two ways, that is, we can consider the short-term as well as the long-term measures. As short-term measures, we may have to take very quick and prompt action. But at the same time we cannot completely ignore the long-term measures.

The real key to the problem is increased production and unless we achieve that we will always be faced with difficulties and our economy would be in jeopardy, leading to a crisis.

It is impossible to believe that we cannot increase our food production or we cannot fight the shortage of food in our country. How to do it? This will have to be considered by you and by us. My feeling is that the Community Development Department should for the next one year do nothing else except concentrate its efforts on increasing agricultural production. Every worker in the block [should see to it that every field is attended to. Every field must be surveyed to find out what is its present production, what it should be six months hence or a year later. After six months there should be a review as to what was the target and what has been the result actually. If the result is unsatisfactory, CD officials must find out the reasons for the same. They should try to know whether there was a shortage of manures, whether proper seeds were not given, and whether water was not made available.

So we have to work more in the fields and less in our offices. I remember the Late Prime Minister having once suggested that the Food and Agricul-

ture Department should be taken over by the Chief Ministers themselves. And he did so because the whole economy is based on adequate food production and total elimination of imports.

So far the Agricultural Department and other departments, the Irrigation Department specially, have functioned more or less in a routine manner. Reports are prepared. Papers are quite all right. But this is only indulging in superficialities. I may be harsh but we have to be frank amongst ourselves. The largest number of complaints we receive from the tenants these days is about the Irrigation Department. They do not get water at the right time, or they get surplus water when it is not needed. Then, of course, there are other difficulties also which the cultivators have to face. It is time we go to the villages ourselves. I propose to go without any pomp and show of the Prime Minister. It is better to go and stay in a far off village for three or four days and get into real touch with the people. We must stay there with them and talk to them. If we meet 100 people or 200 people we will really know what the actual position is. Therefore, if we take the lead, I have no doubt the officials of the departments concerned will try to follow us. But whether we give the lead or not, the officials cannot shirk their own responsibilities.

We have made tremendous progress in industries and the achievements are marvellous. But agriculture still remains a sleeping partner. Why has this happened? May be because industry is an organised sector and there is not much of labour involved in it, but in the case of agriculture, where you have to deal with millions, where you have to deal with vast areas, a dispersed population, we are not so good at that, although we should have been. We derived all our strength before Independence from the peasants and from the cultivators. We went to villages, worked for months together.

I remember in the year 1934—which was a very difficult period when a big movement was withdrawn by Gandhiji and the Congress was almost at its lowest ebb, I, as the Secretary of the District Congress Committee of Allahabad, went round the villages for full one month, explaining our policy or programmes to the people. So in our freedom struggle, it was the cultivator, the peasant, who lent his fullest support to us. Therefore, the question of the peasantry, and of food and agriculture essentially has a human element: Our package programme has not been much success. It is a big experiment, a big trial, where you feed the cultivators with all the things needed by them. If we do not produce the desired results in a concentrated area it will depress me and depress all of you. It needs your fullest attention to know where things are lacking and what we should do in the case of other areas. Coming to short-term measures, we should make necessary arrangements for satisfactory distribution of foodgrains. If distribution is done properly there

would not be much fluctuation in prices. I do not say, that the prices of foodgrains could be isolated from the general economic problems of the country. Yet unsatisfactory distribution sometimes leads to difficulties and thereby to soaring prices. The prices have gone very high. Wholesale prices in India are now at the highest level ever reached and we are entering the difficult lean season when prices normally rise further. The general index at 144.5 on May 30, 1964, is 8.6 per cent above the level a year ago. Prices of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities in particular have risen sharply in the past year. While prices of food articles have gone up by 13 per cent cereal prices have increased as much as 16.5 per cent. This rise in prices imposes extreme hardship and inequity on large sections of the people.

Our entire developmental effort for which we have toiled all these years and sacrificed is in danger. There are many factors causing this rise in prices. By far the major cause is the rise in the prices of foodgrains, specially cereals. I feel so sad that this shortage of food supplies is also due to the concerned sections not fully realising their own responsibilities in the matter. Foodgrains are available, cereals are within the country, not outside and yet these are not coming into the market. This is an unfortunate situation

It is also essential that the Government should have adequate stocks at its disposal. We must have a buffer stock and for that Government will have to procure foodgrains. I am not talking of State trading as such at the present moment. But what is important is to have sufficient reserves with us so that we can fight the trading community if they do not behave. I know we do not have the necessary machinery. It has been suggested, and rightly so, that there should be price support for the cultivator. We should provide for it. It has been suggested by all Food Ministers. But alongside the producer, there is the consumer for whom also there should be some kind of a maximum price beyond which he will not have to pay. If we can fix prices in this way then procurement will not be really so difficult. We have been assured that the United States will continue to support our rice needs under PL-480 and expects to make available additional, substantial quantities from the harvest in August. This is a generous gesture, no doubt, and it will enable us to step up releases from the stocks which we already have with the confidence that they can be replenished later in the year.

Another encouraging feature is that we have had an offer of supply from Pakistan. A mission will be going to Pakistan in the next few days to negotiate mutually satisfactory terms for the purchase of rice. It is our hope that we shall be able to get a good supply from our neighbour without straining our foreign exchange position.

We have at present a big quantity of foodgrains. Yet it should have been replenished when it was allocated to different States. But it



'Jai Jawan'



'Jai Kisan'



Holding aloft the "Jawahar Jyoti"



Smt. Lalita Shastri looks on as the Prime Minister signs a visitors' book



With Kosygin in Moscow



With Nasser in Cairo

has not been done. Therefore, our effort has been to get into touch with some countries and I am glad that both the United States of America and Pakistan have responded so well and so promptly. There should not be now any feeling of shortages in the country. When there is a scare, further complications arise. So I very much like that the whole country should know that we can meet this situation at present without any difficulty. There will be no shortage and I think the prices will also be stabilised. However, procurement should become more or less a permanent policy of ours and we must have a buffer stock in order to tide over any special crisis. Besides that, for some time to come, we will have to meet the needs of the bigger cities of our country, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kanpur and other places and States like Kerala or Kashmir, which are deficit areas. It is important that we do not go to sleep as soon as we find that we have been able to tide over our present difficulties.

The labour has to realise that they have a great responsibility to the people of the country. It is not purely a trade union matter. It is a national problem and I would make an appeal to them that in the present situation specially they should give up their go slow policy and help us in the fullest measure. Whatever their problems, we will certainly look into them. We will try to be as sympathetic as possible. Now about planning we are meeting for the first time after the sad tragedy in our country. The Planning Commission used to get the necessary lead and inspiration from Panditji. They will now have to deal with a much smaller man, but I do want to take the fullest advantage of the Planning Commission.

I have not fully discussed the economic issues with them but I did tell them that food, clothing and shelter are the basic needs of the people. Together with them go relief from poverty and unemployment. All our efforts must be so directed that, within a given period of time—it may be ten years or may be more—we should be in a position to satisfy these basic requirements of all our people.

I do not by this mean that there should be any diversion from building up our basic industries. Indeed, without these we can hardly hope to fulfil the wants of our people. But we must also lay emphasis on the smaller programmes which give quicker results and cover a large number of people. Even more important is quicker and more efficient implementation.

May I also appeal to the Chief Ministers and other Ministers of the States that we want their fullest cooperation and we do not want to exhort too much because it is mainly their responsibility to implement all the projects and the schemes.

2. INCREASED PRODUCTION ONLY SOLUTION

MORE THAN A month has passed since we last met in New Delhi to discuss the food situation. The position has continued to cause the deepest concern to all of us and that is why I am writing to you personally on the subject.

I do not want to go into the statistical or economic explanations of the causes underlying the present crisis. We have to face the situation as it is today. The shortage of foodgrains has caused serious problems and whatever may be the reason, the Government have to increase the supplies to the people. As an immediate measure, the Government have no alternative but to import cereals from abroad and as quickly as possible. Despite the fact that we are short of foreign exchange, we are doing everything possible to import all that we can in the shortest possible time.

It is regrettable that the wheat crop last year was poor and we are in short supply of wheat also. But under the PL-480 Programme of the United States, supplies have been and can be stepped up substantially.

Some time back there was a bunching of ships in the ports of Calcutta and Bombay. There was some trouble about the unloading of ships carrying foodstuffs. Quick steps were taken to remove the difficulties of the workers and the situation appears to have improved considerably. Now there are not many waiting ships carrying foodstuffs. Nevertheless, I would like to appeal to everyone working in the ports, in whatever capacity, to remember that foodgrains are vital for the community and the workers should not in any way become responsible for aggravating the present complicated situation.

It has been decided to divert ships to different ports in the coming months, so that there is the minimum of delay and the delivery of grains to different States becomes easier and quicker. The Railways have also been advised to give top priority to the movement of foodgrains and already the quota of wagons has been stepped up, even doubled in many instances. As the tempo of movement from the ports quickens, the ships will also arrive more promptly.

I feel that the impact of larger imports will begin to be felt by the end of this month. In between, and even thereafter, it is essential that our own domestic production should reach consumers all over the country with the minimum of interference and hold-ups. The restrictions which exist on movements from State to State and Zone to Zone have to be operated as instruments of an integrated all-India policy and without undue partiality to the needs of surplus States. Not all the stocks of foodgrains are in the hands of the Governments, Central or State. Large quantities are in the hands of the trade. This is natural. What is wrong is that

traders with stocks should conceal them rather than bring them out into the market. The State Governments have been taking action to bring out the concealed stocks. Personally, I would be happier if these stocks were freely marketed by the trade itself, but the traders have not left us much room for hope. Possibly they fear that once they bring out the stocks they will expose themselves and have to suffer penalties. They are surely liable to penalties, but in the special situation existing today, when foodgrains must find their way into the market, I would go to the extent of suggesting to you not to take any penal action where any trader or stockist brings into the open within the next two weeks any stocks of foodgrains not previously declared. The stocks may further be allowed to be sold in the open market at a reasonable price. However, after the lapse of the period of grace, firm measures will have to be taken as has already been done in some places. I do not want to say more about this point. More than enough has already been said, and it is now time to let firm action speak for itself. I can only express the hope that even now the private trade will respond to my appeal, will take into account the bitterness that is being created against them, and will so conduct itself that such firm measures do not become necessary.

Cities, of course, are our main problem, but in some of the States shortage and scarcity have affected the rural areas also and there has been a lot of suffering on that account. I think that the bigger cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi will have to be dealt with in a special way. If it becomes essential, we should be prepared to introduce rationing in these cities. We must have the necessary machinery, at least in the larger cities, so that whenever the need arises, it could be brought into play at short notice. The Union Finance Minister has already offered to meet part of the cost of the enforcement staff, and I do hope that you will go ahead with the setting up of this machinery.

In the rural areas, the supplies should be made through fair-price shops and the trade in the rural areas should also play its part. I do hope the Panchayats will take upon themselves a special responsibility in the present situation. Each and every village Panchayat should keep an eye on every man in the village to see that there is no starvation. Panchayats will also be in a position to know who is having foodgrain stocks. They should use persuasive methods to bring the stocks out. In case they do not succeed, they should bring it to the notice of the authorities concerned. They will thus be doing a great service to the people of their areas. Presidents of Panchayats and other office-bearers of Panchayats should make it their duty to move about in the villages in the course of the next two months and take necessary measures to try and solve their own problems as much as they can. The district authorities should try to do their best and cooperate with them in this matter.

Similarly, there are many ways in which the people in the cities can

help themselves. The larger hotels and restaurants that serve a wide variety of dishes can easily cut down their consumption of rice and wheat. Non-vegetarians can easily curtail their consumption of cereals. It might be helpful to cut out rice from our diet, especially in areas like Punjab, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. This can be done for a month. Those who cannot do without rice can at least cut it out one day in a week.

While I have laid much emphasis on the immediate issues and short-term action, the Government of India have prepared their long-term measures also. Our Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri Subramaniam, has, in his Press statement, given an indication of what we propose to do. The imports, of course, will have to continue and perhaps in a larger measure so that we can build up the necessary reserves. These reserves should consist both of indigenous as well as imported cereals. Various steps will have to be taken to procure foodgrains indigenously from the producers without causing the least harassment to them. We must start thinking of these measures from now on because within another two or three months the *kharif* harvest will be coming in. That will be the real testing time for us and we cannot afford to be caught unprepared.

The idea of the Foodgrains Corporation has already been mooted by the Food and Agriculture Minister and he is going ahead with the scheme. The Corporation will be able to procure directly from the cultivators, the wholesalers and from rice and flour mills. It is expected that the State food trading body will start functioning from next January.

The most important thing about purchasing cereals from the market is the fixation of a reasonable price for the producer. If the producer gets remunerative prices he would himself willingly part with his produce. It has been decided that the producers' prices will be fixed and announced much before the sowing season so that the producer will know before-hand what price he will get and so put in his best. The setting up of an Agricultural Prices Commission is also being considered and a committee has been set up to go into the details and draw up the final scheme. This work will be completed very soon and the Commission will come into existence shortly thereafter.

The main solution of the food problem is neither import nor making up the shortage by other means. The only real solution can be increased production. The cultivator will have to be given all the facilities to increase his production. If the cultivator, the Government authorities and public organisations could work in full cooperation, it should not be impossible to have a sizable increase in our production. I know there is not much point in talking about it: let the results speak for the success of our efforts. The *kharif* crops have already been sown. Something can still be done to improve the yield of the *kharif* crops by measures such as the use of fertilisers, proper weeding, timely irrigation, pest control, etc.,

and I would appeal to the cultivators and the extension workers to do every thing possible in this direction. An even greater trial for the Government and the cultivator will be when the *rabi* crops are to be sown. We must start making preparations from now on. As I have said earlier, it would be advisable for Ministers and others to make frequent visits to the villages and see things for themselves. I have said the same about myself also and I shall try to do my bit in this regard.

An important step recently taken by the Food and Agriculture Minister was to fix the consumer prices for rice in the four southern States of Andhra, Madras, Mysore and Kerala. This is a bold step, but its success will lie in its proper enforcement. It is there that difficulties might arise. On the one hand, the trade will have to cooperate and on the other, the district administration will have to maintain constant vigilance. If the trade does not cooperate, the administration will have to deal with the situation. I sometimes feel that our administration today suffers from the fact that too many people are content with desk work and leave all field work to junior officials of various kinds. The fixation of consumer prices will prove a failure unless the district administration does its job.

While we are in the midst of a foodgrain shortage, I have asked the different Ministries concerned to consider the question of prices of some other items of goods which are also essential for our day-to-day life. Sometimes the prices of these articles lead to an increase in prices of foodgrains. Some of these items are cloth, vegetable oils, sugar, matches, kerosene, tea, soap and vanaspati. It is important to fix the prices of these items and properly enforce them. These products are of interest to the common man and to the low income groups generally. Prompt action has already been taken in regard to the fixation of prices of popular varieties of cloth and it has been decided not to leave it to voluntary control. We should, as in other countries, generally adopt the practice of selling goods at fixed prices. In fact, there should be a display of prices for all essential commodities and they should be sold only at those prices. It should become more or less a matter of habit for the producer and the seller to know and understand that there will be no undue profiteering at any time. This may take time but we must move in that direction. Will it be possible for some of the shopkeepers at least to set an example? Let it be the duty of their associations or other voluntary organisations to give a lead in this regard. I am sure that if they do it they will create tremendous goodwill for themselves and also truly serve the people.

I would also like to suggest that there should be as many consumer cooperative societies as possible. There may be shortcomings in their working, but the public workers should try their level best to run them satisfactorily. Consumer cooperative societies do give much relief to their members, especially in these hard times. They sell articles at a fixed price and the quality is also generally better.

May I mention here that recently special checks were carried out quietly in Delhi in order to study the retail prices of some of the commodities? It was found that there was a premium of one paisa over the printed price of matches. But in a certain area one shop quoted a still higher price. In one case in regard to the purchase of sugar, the receipt was not given and the rate charged was also high. There was also a heavy premium on Dunlop bicycle tyres. The general tendency was not to show the price list. But on the whole, except for some variation here and there, the prices of medicines were the same all over the city. Philips electric bulbs and Dalda Vanaspati are being sold at stamped prices, the rates being fixed by the manufacturers. It is obvious that officers should frequently go round and find out for themselves whether products are being sold at prices fixed by the Government. Prompt and effective action in handling a few cases will have a tonic effect. Even this may not be necessary if the people concerned know that the authorities are going around and keeping a close watch on the situation. It is, therefore essential that the officials realise their full responsibilities.

I am told that some kind of demoralisation has set in among the officials. I am sorry to hear of that, I would advise them to act without fear or favour. They must act boldly and the Government will lend them full support. As things are going to be very difficult in the next few months, I want the officers not to suffer from any doubts. They are the agents of the Government to execute its policies and programmes. If they hesitate in the execution and enforcement of the schemes drawn up by the Government, however good these may be, they will not succeed.

May I also appeal to you all to keep foremost in the mind the need to cooperate amongst ourselves if we are to tide over this crisis? Harassed as you are by your own difficulties, it is only natural that you should be inclined to impose various restrictions and enforce measures that might help to ease the situation in your own State even though they may cause greater difficulties in the neighbouring States. Unless the States cooperate with one another and keep the all-India picture in mind, we shall only be adding to our difficulties. There is a natural tendency for surplus States to hold on to their stocks so that the position does not deteriorate in their own areas. But if every State that is surplus in any commodity—and it need not be foodgrains only—decides to reserve the major portion of that commodity for itself, then things will become altogether impossible. I would, therefore, appeal to you all to please desist from any measures that will add to the difficulties of other States, whatever the temptation. I can assure you that the Government of India will spare no effort to see that you are not made to suffer on account of any cooperation or help that you might extend to those who are in greater need.

I would also appeal to the leaders and members of the political parties. They have every right to criticise the Government and in the present situa-

tion they should have and really do have full opportunity to expose the deficiencies of the Government. They can also publicly express their anger and lodge protests. The Government would really benefit if they were to take into account this expression of feelings. However, I do not know if it would be advisable to resort to direct action. Some of the parties are already doing it and some others have decided to launch it sooner or later. This is not good, either for the Government or for the political parties, and certainly not for the people. I do not deny that some of the criticism against us is justified, but in the next two months we have to do our best with the cooperation of all to tide over the immediate crisis. I have no doubt that in this and the next month things will definitely improve when cereals arrive from abroad. Our new stocks of indigenous rice will also start arriving in the market in the month of October.

May I say in all humility that the present situation calls for a national all-party approach. There really is no alternative in a difficult situation like this where the question of availability of food is involved. The matter is so vital that it demands common constructive thinking from all parties, from the Government and the Opposition, from the administration and the people, from the Centre and the States. If such a spirit emerges out of the present crisis, I am sure it would be good for us and good for the country as a whole.

Much of what I have said concerns not merely the State Governments, but also others—labour leaders, political leaders, members of the trade, and so on. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of giving a copy of this letter to the Press as well.

3. THE NEW AGRICULTURAL STRATEGY

MY BROTHER KISANS : I am appealing tonight to the cultivators of India, to the three hundred million of my countrymen who live in our six lakh villages and till over 350 million acres of agricultural land. I am appealing to them at this critical juncture to do everything possible to increase the output from their fields. There is no greater service that they can perform to their society, their people and their country.

You well know that the wealth of every nation depends on the production in its fields and in its factories. Even the production in the factories depends to a great extent on production in the fields. For instance, industries like cloth, sugar, etc., depend completely on the supply of agricultural raw materials. To increase the wealth of a nation and to

make it prosperous and strong—particularly a predominantly agricultural country like ours—is mainly the responsibility of our Kisans and I am sure their shoulders are broad enough to take this burden. With the coming of October, the sowing season starts in full swing. So much depends on what we do within the next few days. If we strive and if we labour, Mother Earth will not be found wanting in her bounty.

During the last few years there has been some increase in agricultural production. During the First Five Year Plan, production went up by 17 per cent and during the Second by 20 per cent. We had set a target of increasing production by 30 per cent in the Third Plan. All the credit for this increase in production goes to our cultivators who have laboured hard to bring it about. It is, however, unfortunate that this increase in production has not been to the extent that we had hoped, and the effect becomes still less when one considers the rapid increase in population. One of our difficulties has been natural calamity—excessive rains in some areas, lack of rains in others, frost, and so on. The result has been that our production has been far below the Third Plan targets. But there is no reason to lose heart. None knows better than you that agriculture is a matter where one has always to be prepared for a little increase or decrease. But in the long run, fortune smiles on those who strive and endeavour.

I believe firmly that the cultivators of this country have the strength and the capacity to make up the deficiencies even in one single season—the coming *rabi* season—and to give a new direction to the country's economic progress.

My brother cultivators, when it comes to fields and agriculture, you know so much more than I do. In this appeal, therefore, I shall confine myself only to a few broad matters :

- (i) The proper preparation of fields plays an important part in the success of agriculture. We must use cow-dung and other compost and make the fields as productive as possible. There is no need to get too many things from outside. Success will depend to a great extent on the efforts which you and your family members put in.
- (ii) The use of improved seeds, manures and fertilisers to the maximum extent possible also does much to increase output rapidly. It has been seen that many cultivators use far too much seed. Research has shown that by using less seed and sowing it in a proper manner, the production actually increases, especially as every plant is able to get sufficient space for adequate nourishment.
- (iii) In many parts of our country the success of agriculture depends on irrigation. It is indeed a pity that not all areas have the

irrigation facilities they require; but wherever such facilities are available, we must put them to the maximum possible use. For instance, where canal water is available, we must have the field channels ready and also raise proper boundaries in our fields so that the maximum use can be made of the water available. All this may seem rather trivial but it is a matter of the utmost importance. I would urge you to give the greatest attention to the construction of masonry wells, tanks, and field channels. I am sure that this in itself will rapidly make an impact on production.

- (iv) There are many fields which can yield two crops but are unable to do so. This is because the land is not ploughed and prepared in time for sowing. Our endeavour should be to see that there are no single-crop fields. By the proper rotation of crops we can ensure that no agricultural land is left without a crop in any agricultural season.
- (v) At a time when food shortage threatens us, we must go in for those crops that ripen early and give greater output. Whereas an acre can yield only about 25 to 30 maunds of wheat, it can grow three to four hundred maunds of potatoes and 250 to 300 maunds of cauliflower, cabbage, and tomatoes. We do need to give more emphasis to increased production of vegetables.
- (vi) We have also not been able to use pesticides and improved agricultural implements to the extent necessary. This is one of the reasons why production lags behind. As soon as any crop is attacked by pest, we must use the proper insecticides, and for this you can get the necessary know-how from your Gram Sevak and other Development Officers.

I believe you all know that we have decided to fix minimum prices for various agricultural commodities. This is being done to guarantee that the cultivator gets sufficient remuneration for the labour and investment he puts in. We shall ensure that you are properly remunerated, just as we propose to impose restrictions on those middlemen who tend to take away the greater part of the profits. In order to increase production in the coming *rabi* season, you will have to invest in improved seeds, manures and fertilisers. The prices of *rabi* crops will be so fixed that this investment will bring a sufficient return. In fact, it will always be our endeavour to ensure that our cultivators are properly rewarded for producing the commodities which are so essential for the life of the community.

In this vast country, we have set up once again the system of village Panchayats. These Panchayats can only come to their full flowering in conditions of economic prosperity, and hence it is their first duty to do everything possible to increase agricultural production and thereby

bring about prosperity. It is this increase of production that is also the principal challenge before the Community Development Movement on which we have laid so much stress. If we have to import food indefinitely to feed our people and also import raw materials to run our industries, how can we ever hope to improve the economy of our country or raise the standard of living of our people?

For the success of the *rabi* campaign it is of the utmost importance that there should be full coordination between the different departments concerned. It is equally essential that items like improved seeds, manures and fertilisers, improved implements, pesticides, irrigation facilities and agricultural loans should be available in proper measure at the appropriate time.

For the proper utilisation of these facilities, the Development Block, the Panchayat, the Cooperative Society, the Krishak Samaj, the Gram Sahayak and all other workers who come in contact with the Kisan have got to put their best foot forward and work with the utmost enthusiasm and devotion. For the Government servants particularly, especially those serving in the districts and in the villages, this is indeed a wonderful opportunity of serving the country. They can share in the great task of providing food to their countrymen.

When Gandhiji was our leader, the workers of the Congress used to go from village to village throughout the country and bring home to every individual the meaning and content of freedom. In this manner, they created enthusiasm wherever they went and built up a vast national movement. At this time of emergency, when a serious food crisis threatens us, the need of the hour is that everyone of us, to whatever group or party he may belong, should enlist himself in this agricultural campaign and go once again from village to village enthusing the cultivators and helping them to resolve their difficulties. To bring home the message of this campaign to every corner of India, to spread a new glow of awakening and enthusiasm in the hearts of our villagers is today truly the greatest service to the nation.

The monsoons are coming to an end and the month of October gives promise of the cool and pleasant season that is to come. This is a month of the greatest significance and the greatest effort for our cultivators. It is in this month that you take up your plough and drive your bullocks long before the break of day and go into the fields and labour hard so that the soil becomes soft and fertile and productive. By the sweat of your brow you have to end this shortage of food and defeat want and poverty. Let the coming agricultural season, the new crop that is to be sown, mark a new turning point in our country's future.

In what words shall I appeal to every single peasant of this country to spare no effort of body, mind, wealth or labour in the forthcoming *rabi* sowings in order to make our country prosperous and strong? I

would also earnestly request those who are the elected members of co-operative societies and of village Panchayats and, in fact, all workers and volunteers to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Kisan brothers in this time of difficulty and build up a new and irresistible force on the agricultural front. Where there is courage and determination, can success ever be in doubt?

Tomorrow is the auspicious occasion of Gandhi Jayanti and to-morrow, for the first time, I shall be going across the seas to another continent. In Cairo, the capital city of the United Arab Republic, will be assembling the Presidents and Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers of about 50 to 60 countries. They have one common objective before them—how best to save this world from the horrors of nuclear war and ensure the preservation of peace. Even from afar, my thoughts will be with this country, and at this moment of departure, I seek to take with me your good wishes and your blessings.

4. THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

TOMORROW THE COUNTRY will observe the National Solidarity Day. It was exactly two years ago that our northern borders were attacked. This was a surprise sprung on us quite suddenly. But in that hour of peril, we saw an upsurge of patriotic feelings throughout the country. Differences of State, caste, creed or language, which had often seemed superficially to divide us, disappeared in a moment. It was a visible demonstration of the fundamental unity of our people, which has preserved the integrity of India through the ages. The farmer in the field, the worker in the factory and indeed people from all walks of life came forward to make their own contribution in order to defend the country's freedom. On the borders our soldiers fought with valour and with determination. So many of them made the supreme sacrifice and gave their lives so that the country might live. The whole nation remembers them with feelings of admiration and gratitude.

We have, however, to remember that we should not be satisfied with what happened in the past. We have to realise that preservation of freedom and the territorial integrity of the Motherland calls for incessant effort, vigilance and alertness. The problems that we face today are serious indeed. The Chinese are trying to build up a mighty war machine and to create fear in the minds of all. China has gone a step further and has recently exploded an atomic bomb. We are thus con-

fronted with a nuclear menace in Asia, something new for this peace-loving continent. These are serious developments and we must take due notice of them. Even otherwise, in recent days, we have seen events of greater significance taking place in other parts of the world.

Within the country, we are going through a period of difficulties. The production of food is still inadequate. Harvesting of rice has begun and the new paddy and rice will be coming into the market. This will ease the situation in respect of rice for the present. The farmers are aware that the Government is very particular that they should get reasonable and remunerative prices for their paddy. I hope they are aware of the fact that the producer's prices have already been fixed and announced. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect that the *Kisans* will come forward to sell their paddy or rice to the Government at fixed prices also; if they do not resist the temptation to sell it quietly to others in order to get a higher price, it will only cause misery to their own kith and kin. In the present situation specially, their responsibility is great. I am sure they will go all out to cooperate in the vital task of feeding the people.

The sowing of the *rabi* crop will start soon. Let us try to produce much more of wheat than we did in the year 1962, which was a normal year. It is essential that the district administration should help in the supply of adequate seeds, manure and similar other facilities, water for irrigation purposes is the most important item.

The problem of water-logging has greatly increased in recent years. Every effort should be made to see that areas liable to water-logging are provided with necessary drains. Besides major irrigation projects, minor and medium schemes should also be taken in hand. All tanks and ponds should be deepened. I am told that the construction of tube-wells sometimes diverts attention from the existing irrigation works and even leads to avoidable duplication. It should always be borne in mind that new investment in tube-wells should not make the older investment infructuous, nor should it result in the neglect of the existing works. These are some of the reasons why the irrigated area in a number of States has not appreciably increased in spite of considerable investment.

The district administration has to be much more alert and active to give all encouragement and assistance to the *Kisans* with a view to increasing the production of their *rabi* crop. While wheat is important, there must be greater production of pulses also. The shortage of pulses has considerably added to our present difficulties. I know we all understand and fully realise that the solution of all our present-day food difficulties lies in increased production. It is, therefore, essential that Government officials in the districts and others at the State or Central level as also the farmers should work hand in hand to produce a much better result. Let us show to the country that we can tackle our problems effectively by our own efforts and perseverance.

The question of distribution has also assumed great importance. The cooperatives and the fair-price shops have helped to a considerable extent in the present situation. With improved methods and with more effective supervision they can do still better. Moreover, if consumer cooperatives can be organised by local initiative, they can be of much assistance in ensuring supplies to the consumers at steady prices. I am sorry to say that grain dealers do not seem to have fully realised the gravity of the situation. This has led me to serious thinking and it now seems essential that Government must make some radical changes in the present system of distribution. I do not say that the alternative system will be hundred per cent good. It has, however, become essential to ensure by all possible means that every man gets the necessary quantum of food at a reasonable price. We may, therefore, have to adopt new measures. However, I would not like to take any new steps till we have consulted the Chief Ministers. Luckily they will be here in the last week of this month and I propose to have a full discussion with them.

Let me assure my countrymen that there is no cause for dejection. Our food position, as I said earlier, will surely improve on account of the new paddy and some other crops. Besides that, we will be getting wheat from the United States of America. We will also try to get it from other countries. We will, therefore, not be short of stocks so far as essential supplies to our countrymen are concerned. I am, however, keen that in the coming few months, while we should try to produce more, we must necessarily build up a better machinery for proper and equitable distribution.

In the long run, the economic conditions of the country will improve only if we plan our economy in a rational and scientific manner. We are in the midst of preparing our Fourth Five Year Plan. Agriculture is bound to get a high priority. Industry is equally important and the combination of industry and agriculture alone will take the country out of the morass we are in and present a cheering picture before our people. This is thus a period of travail and of hard labour. We have to make a determined effort as a people to raise ourselves above poverty and misery.

It may be obvious, but often we seem to forget that it is not the endeavour of a few people but the hard work of the many that makes the country great and prosperous. We are passing through a new and revolutionary phase in our history and all the people should stand united as one man, as they have done before in the hour of peril. Let us then resolve this day to meet the challenge of our time with fortitude and determination and with a sense of national unity and national purpose.

While we must be prepared to meet any situation or to deal with any eventuality, we must not allow our faith in peace and peaceful methods to be dimmed. In fact, peace is of fundamental importance to a country like India that is trying to build herself up economically. But peace is

of even greater importance from the point of view of humanity at large. We cannot ignore the real truth that war has ceased to be an event between one country and another; war hereafter will engulf the whole world. Some days ago, I was in Cairo attending the Non-Aligned Nations Conference. The basic theme of that Conference also was peace and peaceful co-existence and there we did our best to promote these noble objectives.

On this day I invite all my countrymen to join together as brothers and sisters in this great and challenging task of building up a new, awakened and strong India. I ask you to pledge yourselves anew to the dedicated service of our Motherland.

5. SUMMARY TRIALS FOR PROFITEERING

THE STATE GOVERNMENTS must deal with delinquent traders effectively and quickly. Every district should have one or more judicial magistrates enjoying special powers. They should dispose of the cases the same day or at the most in two days. There should be no prolonged procedures for hearing witnesses and recording evidence. Unless this was done, no scheme of controls and rationing could succeed. At the summary trial, heavy fines should be imposed and traders' licences cancelled. All shops should be licensed and it should be ensured that they sell foodgrains at fixed prices. Any breach should be dealt with effectively and immediately and such shops should be closed. These steps have become absolutely essential because I have come to the conclusion that they are not prepared to cooperate with us. They want complete freedom. We might have taken that risk but I find that if we leave it to them, they will not play the game. Therefore, if we decide to go in for rationing, we should simultaneously be clear in our minds and resolve that we will take effective action in order to implement our programme successfully.

I was one of those who generally opposed controls and regulations. Since the last meeting of the Chief Ministers, I have been trying to see if the Government could regulate the food position and stabilise it without introducing rationing or controls. This has not happened. It has, therefore, become essential that they should take the present situation into consideration and decide upon the future line of action. Although controls might lead to corruption, they have to choose the lesser evil.

Once they take over the distribution of foodgrains into their hands, they have to make it a success. It is essential that Bombay and Calcutta should have complete control and rationing. Calcutta is more or less

controlled and Bomaby has also to do the same thing. Then six other big cities with a population of about a million could be taken up. It is for consideration if other cities with a population of half a million or so, should also be taken over.

We need not take half-hearted steps. Either we do not have any kind of regulation or if we have any regulation, we should enforce it effectively. I suggest this because I can see that things are going to be difficult in the months to come. We have to take a long-range view and in the next eight or nine months, we have to take special measures, extra steps, so that we can slightly improve our position during this period.

I do not take a pessimistic view. I feel that the Government would certainly be in a better position to meet the needs and requirements of the people in a year or so. I am aware that cordoning off of cities might lead to smuggling and corruption. The police would naturally have to deal with it.

The main idea of the proposed regulations and controls in the cities is to release more foodgrains for the rural areas. Cities sucked most of the foodgrains from the rural areas. Once bigger cities are controlled there would be more foodgrains for the rural areas. Government can gradually withdraw fair price shops from the rural areas. But special arrangements for the supply of foodgrains to the landless labour and the weak and the invalid might have to be made.

When I visited rural areas the cultivators told me that most of them had enough foodgrains to carry on for the next few months. It was stated that the bigger Kisans had hoarded a good deal with the money given to them by the traders. They were perhaps thinking of waiting till the month of January so that they could get higher prices.

Along with foodgrains, items like cloth, vanaspati, vegetable oil and sugar should also be controlled. These items could be mentioned in the food cards, or separate cards could be issued.

The States had done very little to regulate the prices of matches, cycle tyres and such items. This could be easily done through the manufacturers or their agents. We must deal with them firmly in this matter and they must cooperate with us. It is not difficult for them. They can just cancel the licence of their agents if the latter charge more than the prices fixed by the manufacturers. But we have not moved in that matter at all and the people have naturally suffered on that account.

If each State thought only of itself, there would be a good deal of chaos in the country. On the food front, the needs and requirements of the country as a whole have always to be considered. It is of high importance that surplus States should consider now that they are going to feed the country. Surplus States must take some risks. It would create a very difficult situation if the Chief Ministers were not prepared to take risks. I think we should resolve here and now in this Conference that

we will consider the whole problem on a national basis and that even if there is a danger or risk, we will face it. Personally I think there can be no real danger.

There are, of course, difficulties of foreign exchange in importing foodgrains. The Finance Minister is prepared to give more for wheat imports because wheat is cheaper. Rice is much more difficult to import. They have, therefore, to depend more on wheat. For example, in the rice-eating States, six ounces of rice and six ounces of wheat could be given. In other States the proportion of rice could be reduced to the minimum.

In the present situation they cannot think in terms of imported or indigenous wheat of high quality. If indigenous wheat could not be given, States would have to do without it. What took the first place was food and not the quality.

It is essential to make some sacrifice. In a country which has been once led by Gandhiji; it should not be difficult for the people to make sacrifices and stop taking rice for at least one day in a month. They should adopt an attitude of self-sufficiency. It is undoubtedly Government's duty to provide food but people will respond if the Government said that once or twice a month no rice should be taken. Even in the rice-eating States they should manage with bananas or something else for a day or so each month.

The administrative machinery has to be fully geared up to the needs of the present situation. Once policies are made, these should be implemented fully. There should be a constant review and a constant watch on the actual progress made in implementing the policies. Policies and programmes may look all right on paper. The real test, however, is better performance.

6. PLEA FOR ECONOMY IN FOOD CONSUMPTION

ON THE WHOLE, the food position has been satisfactory. In the last five months, there has been a reduction in prices and, on the whole, the availability was also satisfactory. But now the lean months start and there might again be a tendency towards a rise in prices. Already we find that there is some shortage in certain pockets of different States. We have, therefore, to remain vigilant and careful for the next four or five months.

We will have to economise as much as we can in our supplies and we

must try to procure to the maximum extent possible. I can quite understand that the States might expect to get more from the Centre. We have to procure more wheat. About rice, our position is better but we have to depend on procurement for the next few months. It is, therefore, advisable that the States should try to depend on themselves as much as they can. The crops have been on the whole satisfactory, both of rice and wheat. I would suggest that the States should try to manage with lesser quantities from the Centre. It is very important that we should be able to build up a buffer stock for the future. Next year, if we get as good crops of rice and wheat as this year, it might be possible for us to build up a good reserve. Without a buffer stock, it is not possible to control the market and regulate the prices. So, you will have to help us in building up the required buffer stock.

The Centre has been supplying six lakh tonnes of foodgrains to the States every month. I am not quite sure if it would be possible to supply the same quantity in the coming months. It is just possible that it may be restricted to about 4 lakh tonnes. We have to remember that we are faced with an emergency, a very special situation. One does not know what the result of the talks proceeding with the UK Prime Minister about the Kutch border would be. In the circumstances, our responsibilities become much greater. As I suggested, we must economise to the maximum extent possible and we must see what could be done to reduce our consumption.

One of the important measures which we should take is to restrict the number of people at marriage feasts, parties, dinners, etc. We should also limit the number of courses in hotels and restaurants. We should think of such other measures and introduce them at the earliest. We have also to do our utmost to increase production. At present, we must exercise all possible restraint to reduce our consumption and do our utmost to manage with our own production in the States. We should try to reach the procurement target already fixed. On the whole, the procurement in the States has been satisfactory except for Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. So far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, the Chief Minister has told us that the new crop has come and they will be able to reach the target fixed for them. Orissa, I hope, will also try to do better.

We cannot depend entirely on imported fertilisers. We might as well develop our own indigenous resources like farm manure, compost and green manure.

7. FERTILISERS ARE IMPORTANT

I AM HAPPY that West Bengal should have this fertiliser plant, because West Bengal needs it the most. First, it has the plantation industries—tea—which need fertilisers the most, and then it has the paddy crops and jute. So it is important that this new fertiliser plant should be established in West Bengal. In fact, once I had said some time back when I was in charge of the Commerce and Industries Ministry that every State as far as possible should have a fertiliser plant—chemical fertiliser plant—because we are an agricultural country and every State needs an increase in the agricultural production. In fact, the country as a whole has suffered on account of shortage of agricultural production, food crops especially. So it would save transport expenses, in case other facilities are available, to set up fertiliser plants in each State. I think the programme as it is would more or less, give fertiliser plants to almost all the States except one or two.

I am glad that Kabir Sahib has said that what is most important at the present moment is increased food production in our country. We are depending too much on imports and our economy will not stabilise till we become more or less self-supporting and self-sufficient in food production. It is necessary that we should provide the essential inputs for increased agricultural production, and fertilisers, chemical fertilisers, etc., are some of the most important ingredients for increased agricultural production.

This place, Durgapur, was more or less a jungle, but now it has converted itself into a big industrial centre. I am told that it has already extended up to eight or nine miles from one end to the other, and it has become a complex of industries—various industries have come up, and it is good that we see this kind of industrial development in this part of West Bengal. It is necessary for our economic development that we should have basic industries as well as other consumer industries.

Fertiliser and cement are important both as consumer industries as well as, as I said, for increased agricultural production.

I must congratulate the Fertiliser Corporation for designing this plant entirely on their own. The technical know-how, etc., they have now got in full measure, and it is a happy feature that they will now be designing other plants to be set up by the Corporation on their own.

8. ROLE OF STUDENTS

INDIA HAS PASSED through critical periods during the last two centuries. Since we attained our freedom it has been our earnest effort to build up our industry as well as agriculture. We have laid utmost stress on the setting up of heavy industries, medium-sized and small-scale industries. We do realise that economic growth of this country is not possible without industrialisation. There is a great burden on agriculture and if relief has to be provided it could only come through industrialisation.

Yet we have to realise the fact that we are today short of necessary foodgrains. We do not produce enough. We have to import millions of tonnes of foodgrains from foreign countries. Recently we have passed through a crisis. The last five or six months have been pretty bad. There has been shortage of foodgrains and there has been rise in prices. I must thank the United States of America for the great help given to us during this period by supplying rice and wheat in very large quantities. In fact, we have been importing about 6 lakh tonnes of foodgrains every month.

This being the position, agriculture naturally assumes very high importance. In the Fourth Plan, we propose to give the highest importance to agriculture. It is important that we build up, at least as a temporary measure, a reserve stock in our country. We have had very good rice crops. The production has been to the tune of about 39 million tonnes. We expect to have very good wheat crop. We do still propose to continue our imports from the United States of America because if we have to build up a buffer stock and try to stabilise our foodgrains position, it would be necessary to take the help of our indigenous production as well as imports. In course of the coming few years, we would have built up a good reserve stock so that during lean periods the country does not have to undergo a stress and strain of the kind which we have had to face in the last few months.

Hence, as a long-term measure, what is important is increased agricultural production. We cannot depend on imports for ever or even for a long time to come. We achieved our independence through the movement of Swadeshi. Even in those difficult days Gandhiji taught us to produce Khadi. Without any Government help and assistance, he was able to build up a very big organisation and Khadi had become a national livery of ours. I would very much like that we should preserve that spirit of Swadeshi, that spirit of self-sufficiency, amongst us. Unless we keep that in view our economy would be greatly jeopardised.

We will have to depend on imports which might appear to be something easy but which will ultimately weaken the base of our economy.

It is, therefore, important that we concentrate on increased agricultural production. For that we have to provide the necessary inputs to the farmers, whether it is manure, water, seeds, good cows, good bullocks and credit facilities. You think in terms of tractors, big canals, fertilisers; they are good so far as they go. They are good for big farms, and they might be helpful in some other ways also. But let us be realistic and remember the average size of our farms. It is very small. I know of U.P. The average is not more than 1½ or 2 acres. This being the position, how will the tractor help us and how long are we going to wait for the building of dams, canals, etc.? Even in regard to fertilisers, it will take at least half a dozen years or more for the country to produce the adequate quantum of fertilisers. So, we must have a realistic plan and we have to consider as to how to help each and every farmer.

I do not say that there should be no bigger farms, that there should be no State farms. But the largest number is that of the small farmers and the smaller fields; for them it should suffice if they have improved implements and better ploughs and if these could be manufactured even in the rural areas. We may have small factories in the rural areas themselves where these could be manufactured. If you have not got the fertilisers, chemical or otherwise, well then, we will have to depend on local manure. It might be compost, it might be green manuring. We may also have to maintain our old tanks and wells. We may have to build small tubewells, or smaller projects for supply of water. These are some of the things which we will have carefully to consider if we want increased production on a big and extensive scale. In this University of yours, I would very much like your research sections to find out what smaller implements could be made or manufactured? How could they be improved? What kind of indigenous fertilisers could be used? How the smaller rivulets could be utilised for supply of water? How could the old tanks be preserved and rain water stored?

I am glad that this University should come up in Andhra Pradesh, which is the granary of the South. For me the success of this University will depend on what the students of this University will do when they have qualified from this institution. It is necessary that these students should engage themselves in agricultural work. Those of you who have your own farms should go and establish themselves in the villages on your own farms, work on your farms with improved methods and techniques. If you do not have your own farms then you can certainly help other farmers. It is necessary that the boys, after having qualified and passed their examinations, do not start living in the cities and then go in search of some clerical or administrative jobs. I would like the students almost to take a pledge that for some time to come they will stay in the villages, they will help the farmers and will see that India produces enough and sufficient foodgrains.

9. PRODUCE MORE, MARKET MORE

THE EVENTS OF the past few weeks have roused the entire nation to a new and deeply felt awareness of its responsibilities. Foremost among them is the preservation of our freedom. We were suddenly faced with an unprecedented challenge, but this was met swiftly and effectively. The brave Indian soldier and the airman provided the answer. Who were these brave warriors to whom crippling injuries were of no consequence, who courted death with a smile so that India may live in freedom and with honour? They were our sons and our brothers.

They have shown the way and we are all so proud of them. But the task is not yet done. In fact this is a continuous task and it will always have the first call on our resources and on our lives.

The preservation of freedom, my countrymen, is not the task of soldiers alone. The whole nation has to be strong. We all have to work in our respective spheres with the same dedication, the same zeal and the same determination which inspired and motivated the warrior on the battle front. And this has to be shown not by mere words, but by actual deeds.

The one lesson which we all must learn and the implications of which we must all accept deep down in our hearts is that for the preservation of freedom we must have the necessary internal strength and that we must be as self-reliant as possible. We have to build up our economy in such a manner as to be self-sufficient in certain essential sectors.

I wish to speak to you tonight about the all important subject of food production. I consider self-sufficiency in food to be no less important than an impregnable defence system for the preservation of our freedom and independence. Our long-term objective must be to achieve self-sufficiency in food not by self-denial but by producing enough within our country in order to feed and build up a nation which is healthy and strong. Dependence on food imports is not only bad for the economic health of our country but it undermines also our self-confidence and self-respect. We have to stand on our own legs and a beginning has got to be made right now towards self-sufficiency in food. The food front today is almost as vital as the military front.

The measure of the present deficit in our food production is provided by the quantum of annual imports. These imports, however, constitute less than eight per cent of the foodgrains that we consume in the country. Surely, it should not be impossible to make good this deficit provided we can make an all-out effort. Let us make a beginning straightway. The *Rabi* sowing season is upon us, and this is the most crucial period of the agricultural year. On what we are able to do now will rest the fortunes of our country in the coming year. Our aim, our objective,

our slogan should be : "Two grains should now grow where only one grew before."

When it comes to agriculture, my brother cultivators know much more than I do. I shall, therefore, confine myself only to some general aspects of this matter. Firstly, increase in agricultural production would mean intensive cultivation and raising of more than one crop on a plot of land, where only one grew before. If two crops are already being taken, then we must strive for even a third. This is not at all difficult with proper rotation. We must also try wherever possible to grow some minor crop along with the major crop.

As you are aware, our overall supplies of fertilisers are inadequate. Foreign exchange being so scarce, we would not be able to import enough to meet all our requirements. We have, therefore, to make good this deficiency by concentrating all attention on increased composting. Per unit of material, compost has higher nitrogen and other nutrient contents than ordinary cow dung manure. All steps should, therefore, be taken to utilise our resources to increase composting to the maximum extent possible. Under the existing circumstances, this is absolutely indispensable for securing a substantial increase in agricultural production.

The success of agriculture, as you know, depends on irrigation. It is a pity that all areas have not got the irrigational facilities they require. But wherever such facilities are available, they must be put to the most economic and maximum possible use. Advance action for the utilisation of full irrigational potential should be taken. This year the rainfall all over the country has been below normal. The *Rabi* crops are naturally threatened with lack of moisture. This should not, however, deter us from making brave efforts for achieving the goal that we have set before us. The requirements of irrigation should be met by digging temporary kutcha wells if traditional sources of irrigation are not able to meet the demand of our high targets.

In the present emergency every area should try to grow whatever cereal or oilseed or other useful crop that can grow in the area with the availability of water and other climatic conditions. Every bit of land should be cultivated. Even in cities, every little plot of land, every bit of garden that can be made available, should be used for growing vegetables. A well-kept kitchen garden should be a matter of pride to every household that has the space for it, and much can also be done in raising quick growing fruit trees like banana and papaya.

So far I have been talking about the need for a determined endeavour to increase substantially the production of food within the country in order to attain self-sufficiency. Obviously, the production of food is not an end in itself. The objective is to feed all the people. We must aim at equitable distribution. Here again, it is the cultivator and the farmer

who can be of the greatest help. They have to feed the workers in factories and mines, landless labourers who work for wages, the city dwellers and, above all, the men of the Armed Forces who are defending our frontiers. My farmer friends, you may certainly keep enough for your requirements. But you must consider it your national obligation to make the rest available to accredited agencies. You have already been assured of a fair price. I want to address myself especially to the bigger farmers who are better off and who have some holding capacity. I would ask them earnestly to come forward and to help the nation by marketing the entire surplus which they may have. This is the best service they can render to the country in these days of emergency. Withholding of supplies causes distress and this, I am sure, everyone would want to avoid. I would ask all the farmers to adopt the slogan : "Produce more and market more". There should be organisations in every village to enthuse the Kisans, and I hope the village Panchayats and producers' cooperatives will take the lead in this. In our freedom struggle, the Kisans of India played so notable a part. I am confident that they will stand by the country in its present hour of need.

I would also appeal to the traders not to withhold supplies. Above all, they must ensure that the essential foodstuffs are made available to the public at reasonable prices. I am glad that the trading community has tried to keep down the prices and I am hopeful that in these difficult days they will continue to display the same public spiritedness. A great responsibility devolves on them at this time of emergency.

It is equally necessary that the consumer must not hoard foodgrains but purchase only what he needs for his immediate requirements. There is no need for extra purchases. There must be equality of sacrifice and the consumer can help a great deal by exercising self-restraint.

While we are specially thankful to the United States of America and to some other friendly countries for the food which they have been giving us as aid, we must be prepared for a situation when we may not be able to import all that we need. If there is enough food, each one of us will eat adequately. If, on the other hand, there is shortage each one must be willing cheerfully to make a sacrifice.

While we are trying to step up the production of food within the country, the attainment of self-sufficiency would naturally take some time. In the intervening period, there must be restraint on consumption. Conspicuous consumption must be strictly avoided not only in respect of cereals but also of other foodstuffs. Parties, dinners and lunches are not in tune with the times at all. At weddings, there should be no exhibition of ostentation. There is no need for many dishes to be served. Hotels and restaurants also have to keep in line with the present day requirements. Austerity is the need of the hour and it must be encouraged by strong public opinion.

I would like to say a special word about the housewife and the vital role she has to play in the present emergency. Our women can help in inducing a change in the dietary habits of the people by introducing in the family diet items that are grown in the area but are not consumed. We may have our menu partly in wheat and partly in other cereals like maize, barley, bajra or gram. The lady of the house should economise on the consumption of cereals and make a conscious effort to eliminate wastage which unfortunately one does come across even these days. In well-to-do families, where the diet can be supplemented by items like vegetables, fruits, meat, fish and poultry, every effort has to be made to cut down on the consumption of cereals. I wish such families would plan at least some cereal-free meals every week. The women of India have always made their own contribution in the service of the country—let them in this vital matter of austerity and conservation of food again take the lead.

As I said earlier, the next *Rabi* season will commence shortly and the coming three or four weeks are, therefore, of great importance. First and foremost you have to sow all available land and no patch should be regarded as too small for the purpose. For assisting you in every possible way the whole machinery of the Government is being geared up. I am requesting the Chief Ministers to issue immediate instructions to the District Officers for launching a food production drive within their districts. In this the Community Development Organisation will have to play a vital role. There has to be and there must be a well coordinated effort to provide seeds, fertilisers, water and other requirements in the best manner possible. A scheme for the whole district has to be drawn up and groups of villages have to be entrusted to officials whose responsibility it would be to keep in close and direct touch with the farmers and to do everything possible to resolve their difficulties. The entire team in a district has to work with a sense of dedication in the same manner as a soldier on the battle front. The District Officer should regard himself in all humility as a commander who has to organise this drive and achieve the target which must be clearly laid down. He should delegate all his routine work to some other senior officer of the district administration, reserving his own attention and energies almost exclusively for work connected with agricultural production. The success of these efforts will no be in doubt if officials would apply themselves to the task not merely as a part of their duty but also as a part of the deep obligation which they owe to the country at this critical hour.

We live in fateful times. The dangers that threaten us have not yet passed. In this moment of crisis, our Jawans have shown the way. Can our Kisans lag behind? The Jawan is giving his blood, he is staking his life for the country. I am asking the Kisans to give their toil and their

sweat. Let them also go out in their millions to the fields that are waiting to be sown, and with enthusiasm, endeavour and enterprise make every effort possible to increase the production of food. Whatever may befall, let us so conduct ourselves that even by suffering and by sacrifice we succeed in making this country of ours self-sufficient, self-reliant, self-respecting and strong.

10. FARMS TO STRENGTHEN ARMS

ON THIS DAY, 20 years ago, the world community met at a historic conference to promise to itself a specialised agency, which has in the intervening period rendered signal service to mankind by strengthening its resolve to assert and achieve a basic human right, the right to freedom from hunger. India joins people the world over to felicitate FAO on this momentous occasion.

The era in which we live will go down in history as the era of nations with rising expectations. Their problems and their difficulties, their hopes and their aspirations, compel attention and instil and inspire the cooperative spirit, which is at once the touchstone of human civilisation and its best guarantee for meeting the challenges implicit in these expectations. It is in recognition of this fact of basic importance that the decade through which we are passing has come to be known as 'the Decade of Development'.

FAO's contribution to the Development Decade is its campaign for Freedom From Hunger.

This FAO Day today commemorates not only the 21st anniversary of FAO's establishment but also marks the commencement of the second Freedom from Hunger Week and the launching of the Young World Mobilisation Appeal.

The Appeal which is addressed to the youth of all countries calls upon young people to devote 21 hours of their time over a period of 21 weeks, October 1965 to March 1966, to Freedom from Hunger Campaign. What is sought is the cooperation of young people in starting and continuing projects designed to improve the economic condition of the masses. Only a beginning can be made during this period. The efforts will have to be sustained with vigour and dedication.

We in India are passing through a difficult period in our history. The nation has responded magnificently to the needs of the emergency by closing all ranks and bending all efforts towards the accomplishment

of the tasks considered essential for national security. The fields at home are no less important than the fields in forward areas. The men in arms have to be supported by the men on farms. In this context, it is the duty of every single member of the nation and more particularly the young people to contribute effectively to increased production. There is no dearth of work. In the countryside, there are wastelands waiting to be reclaimed. In urban areas, there are houses and institutions which have large compounds waiting to be tilled. Something can be done even in boxes and tins. What is needed is the initiative and the drive to take up production programmes. "Farms to strengthen arms" must be our motto and our watchword.

I call upon all young people, therefore, to respond to this call with the same energy and the same enthusiasm which they have displayed in answering the call of defence.

CHAPTER IV

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

1. NO CHANGE IN POLICY DECISIONS

I AM SPEAKING to you tonight with a deep sense of distress and shock over what has happened in Madras State on account of apprehensions which seem to have been aroused on the language question. I cannot adequately express my sorrow at the loss of life and my thoughts and sympathies are with those who have suffered so grievously.

The strong emotions which have found expression in tragic events are apparently based on a feeling that assurances given earlier on the question of language have not been fully observed ; there also seems to be a misunderstanding of the constitutional and legal position and of the policy decisions taken by the Government of India. I honestly and sincerely believe that these apprehensions are based on an unfortunate misunderstanding of the factual position. I propose, therefore, to place before you as clearly as possible the facts as they are and then ask you to bestow upon them your dispassionate consideration.

In the course of speeches in Parliament in August and September 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru gave certain assurances to the non-Hindi-speaking people, and the assurances gave great satisfaction. What exactly were those assurances? Let me quote the key sentences from his two speeches. "English," he said, "can be used by any State in writing to the Government"—the reference obviously was to the Central Government—"or in writing to each other." He went on to explain that while for internal State work presumably the State language would be used, there would be no limitation on the use of English in dealings on the all-India scale

between States. Continuing he said, "There is no limitation of time even to that, except when people generally agree—and I had said that these very people in the non-Hindi speaking areas who might be affected should agree."

In another speech, he said, "I believe also two things...There must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period—I do not know how long—I should have, I would have, English as an associate language...because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them. So, I would have it as an alternative language as long as people require it and the decision for that I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people but to the non-Hindi knowing people." Amplifying his remarks he added, "Hindi progressively develops, I would try for that. I love English to come into the picture to be used as long as people require it. Some States have followed it, they can go on using it and gradually allow languages to develop and to replace English."

These were the assurances given by Panditji and I wish to reiterate that we stand by them fully and solemnly. They will be honoured both in letter and in spirit without any qualification or reservation. In order to remove all doubts, I would like to state what the policy decisions are:

First, every State will have complete and unfettered freedom to continue to transact its own business in the language of its own choice, which may be the regional language or English.

Secondly, communications from one State to another will either be in English or will be accompanied by an authentic English translation. This is based on a unanimous decision of the State Chief Ministers. Similarly, English translations will be available of Hindi communications addressed to the Centre by any State or the public.

Thirdly, the non-Hindi States will be free to correspond with the Central Government in English and no change will be made in this arrangement without the consent of the non-Hindi States.

Fourthly, in the transaction of business at the Central level English will continue to be used.

It should be quite clear from what I have just said that there is no question whatsoever of Hindi being imposed on the non-Hindi speaking States. It is also clear that English will continue to be used in non-Hindi States for as long as the people consider such use to be necessary.

I would now like to talk about recruitment to the services. It is on this question that serious apprehensions have apparently been caused in the minds of the student community. So far English has been the only medium for the examinees sitting for the Union Public Service Commission examinations. Even now English will continue as a medium and its use will not be discontinued unless the people from non-Hindi speaking areas themselves ask for it.

It is quite true that in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution adopted in 1950 Hindi has become the official language of the Union with effect from January 26, 1965. Ordinarily, English would have ceased to have any official status with effect from that date, but two years before the crucial date, the Central Government enacted legislation to provide for the continuance of English. Thus it is by law that English continues to be an associate language and thus also a medium for examinations. It was decided in 1960 that Hindi might be permitted as an alternative medium after some time. This question was placed before the Chief Ministers of all the States and it was decided in consultation with them that effective arrangements for moderation must be made before Hindi was used as an alternative medium. But this will be allowed only when a satisfactory moderation scheme has been evolved. For this purpose the Government of India will consult all the Chief Ministers and eminent educationists from different parts of the country. This may well take time. We shall make sure that the method eventually to be adopted for moderation is considered to be satisfactory by the Chief Ministers. The scheme of moderation has to be such that it leaves no ground for any genuine apprehension that the use of one medium or another would bestow advantages or give a handicap to any group of candidates. May I assure the student community that every care will be taken to ensure that their employment prospects are not adversely affected?

I do hope that, from what I have said about our decisions and our policies, it will be clear that we are most anxious to safeguard the interests of non-Hindi speaking people to the fullest extent and to avoid any inconvenience to the non-Hindi speaking States. These will be our guiding considerations throughout. We shall consider, in consultation with the Chief Ministers, measures to implement these assurances.

What disturbs and distresses me is the fact that an agitation has been launched without any attempt to discuss. This, I want to say in all humility, is not the way in which grievances should be ventilated or differences voiced in a great democracy like ours. In this vast country of ours, people profess different religions, speak different languages, dress differently and observe different customs; but we are one nation; the history of our struggle for independence and our faith in our future development are our common bonds.

I want to appeal to you to pause and ponder over the whole situation. What is involved is the very unity of the country. Whatever the area to which we belong, whatever the language we speak, we must consider what is best for the country as a whole. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and so many other national leaders and the framers of our Constitution, who were men of wisdom and foresight, decided that there should be a common language to forge all the people of India into a well-

knit nation. The objective is desirable, indeed noble. But our methods have to be such as to inspire confidence all round. I ask you, all my countrymen, to lift this issue to a higher plane and to bestow upon it the most rational consideration. If some of you still feel that there are any legitimate grievances or that some administrative or executive action has been taken which should not have been taken, I and my colleagues are ready immediately to listen and to discuss in a sincere endeavour to remove all genuine misapprehensions. I do hope that my talk with you tonight will provide enough assurance to enable the present agitation to be withdrawn.

2. SPREADING HINDI BY PERSUASION

THIS ORGANISATION, the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, is the oldest organisation in the South. It was set up by Gandhiji. He was the first who said that we should have a link language, a common language for the whole country, though he himself did not belong to the Hindi-speaking State. He came from Gujarat and was indeed a very good writer of Gujarati. But during the British days when he fought for the freedom of the country, he felt that there were many things which should be done in order to integrate India. He talked of national unity, communal unity and other things. He realised that language is also a cementing factor and could strengthen the sources of nationalism. He, therefore, in those days, on his own, sent some workers to Madras who organised this work, this institution of Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. This Sabha has been working in all the four Southern States—Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and Kerala—with its headquarters in Madras. It is, therefore, clear that there is no opposition as such to Hindi. There are hundreds and thousands of boys and girls who appeared in the examinations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha and qualified themselves in Hindi and passed the various examinations.

It is, however, important how we proceed with the propagation of Hindi and how gradually there should be a switchover to Hindi. Recently, as you know, some tragic incidents have taken place in Madras which are most deplorable and undoubtedly exceedingly sad. Yet it seems that there are some doubts, some misapprehensions in the minds of at least a section of the people of Madras. It is important that those doubts and misapprehensions should be removed. I said the other day that there

is practically no change since January 26, 1965, the day when Hindi was declared as the Official Language of the country. It was done so because in accordance with the Constitution that was the last day for the use of English as the Official Language which, according to the provisions of the Constitution, had to be substituted by Hindi. However, much before this date, a legislation was passed by Parliament and the legislation provided that English will continue with Hindi as an associate language. So care was taken that there should be no difficulty, especially for the non-Hindi States. It is, therefore, quite clear that in the States there should be the use of English as also the regional languages.

Naturally the regional languages are assuming greater importance. Regional languages are becoming the medium of instruction in schools and after some time young men and women would naturally be more well-versed in the regional languages than in English. However, it is for the State Governments to decide as to what language they will use in the administration and for administrative work—whether it would be the regional language or English. There are many States in this part of India which have made the learning of Hindi compulsory in some of the classes in the high schools or higher secondary schools. For the Central Government servants, it has only been suggested that they should on their own learn or pick up Hindi. There is no imposition at all and there is absolutely no idea of imposing Hindi on anyone.

It is true that in the Hindi-speaking States, we have said that Hindi should progress at an accelerated pace. It should be used more and more in the Government, in the administration, because it was suggested by all the other non-Hindi-speaking States that the Hindi States should first fully use Hindi, should translate laws, manuals, etc., in Hindi, should have a dictionary, and all words which are used in English, should either be coined into Hindi or converted into Hindi. It was also suggested by other States that once the Hindi-speaking States do this job, it would be much easier for other States to take it over. However, for the non-Hindi-speaking States, as I said, we have to go slow, and we cannot afford to take precipitate action.

I would suggest to our Hindi-speaking people and friends that they have to be very careful in this regard. It is essential that the unity of the country is maintained and any observations or remarks they make should not create difficulties for the whole country or for the non-Hindi-speaking States. If we have to live together, we should come closer to each other. In these days when we are faced with a very difficult situation, when we have our opponents working on the frontier and when there is danger from them, the unity of the country has to be preserved. Without unity this country cannot develop and it cannot be further strengthened. It is, therefore, necessary that the Hindi-speaking friends should be tolerant even in the face of opposition.

I can only say that in regard to services there will be absolutely no problem in the matter either of promotions or of recruitment. For those who do not know Hindi, it would not serve as a handicap for them in the matter of recruitment or even in the matter of promotions. We have to realise that for those who have been in service for the last 10, 15, 20 years, it is not easy to pick up Hindi, although it is a very easy language to learn. If we apply ourselves only for two to three months, we can learn it. The propagation of Hindi has to be done by persuasion and as quietly as possible.

3. THE THREE-LANGUAGE FORMULA

THE MEETING OF Chief Ministers of the States convened to consider the language issue was held on February 23 and 24, 1965.

The meeting strongly deplored incitement to violence in order to give expression to grievances of any kind and urged that strong action should be taken to put down lawlessness. It considered that recourse to violence and destruction of public property cut at the very root of the democratic process which required that all differences should be settled by methods of discussion and persuasion. It was felt that all those who were in a position to influence public opinion should speak out frankly against the use of violence and mobilise public support for settling disputes and differences in an orderly way. At the same time the conference recognised that genuine difficulties as well as unwarranted apprehensions aroused by misleading propaganda must be speedily removed.

The conference recalled that through the provisions on the subject in the Constitution, through the enactment of the Official Languages Act, through the decision to have a trilingual basis for education and through the assurances given on the floor of the Lok Sabha by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and reiterated and amplified by me in a broadcast to the nation on February 11, 1965, both the long-term objectives and the need to move towards them with the necessary caution had already been spelt out. Hindi is the official language of the Union and English is to continue as an associate language. There is no question of making any modification in these basic decisions from which alone a sound policy could be evolved. What needed consideration was a number of practical issues arising therefrom, including the amendments to the Official Languages Act, 1963, to give effect to the assurances referred to above. The Chief Ministers agreed that the examination of these issues should be taken in hand.



In office



At home

He always attracted huge crowds wherever he went.





With Tuo at Brioni, Yugoslavia



With President Ayub Khan of Pakistan

The importance of ensuring equality of opportunity as enjoined by the Constitution as between people belonging to different parts of the country was emphasised by many Chief Ministers. Reference was also made to the question of the various States having an equitable share in the all-India services. The need for evolving a sound system of moderation for examinations for all-India and higher Central Services before the introduction of Hindi as an optional medium was emphasised. It was further urged that consideration should be given to the introduction of regional languages as media for these examinations. It was suggested that before any decisions were taken on these questions, a study of all the aspects involved should be undertaken in cooperation with the Union Public Service Commission.

The working of the three-language formula evolved by the Chief Ministers' Conference on National Integration and accepted by the State Governments was reviewed. It was decided that this formula should be fully and effectively implemented in all the States. It was urged that, in accordance with this formula, the study of an Indian language in current use, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking areas and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi-speaking areas would further promote a sense of national unity and encourage better and freer communication between the people in different parts of the country.

4. NO IMPOSITION OF HINDI

I DO NOT want to suggest that I have no views about the language issue. I have clear and categorical views in regard to all the points raised during discussions in Parliament, with Chief Ministers and elsewhere; but I do not want to express any opinion at the present moment because we feel that all these points should be studied further and carefully examined.

However, I would like to say that there can be no question of imposing Hindi and that those who do not know Hindi can continue with English even after the announcement of January 26, 1965.

We might devote a little more time to the study of the pros and cons of this matter and then take a decision which would be almost final. Of course, there is nothing final in the world. But a decision taken after due deliberation is more likely to be based on a long-range view of things.

We have to consider the language problem in the national perspective.

From reply to the debate on the President's Address in the Lok Sabha on March 12, 1965

It is not that we can consider each and every language spoken in this country as one which should be the official language of the whole country. That would not be possible. In accordance with the Constitution, we have accepted Hindi as the official language of the Union. I think that it is essential that there should be one common language, one link language for the whole country. Otherwise, it would mean the compartmentalisation of our country; it would lead to some kind of disintegration. In any case, we cannot precipitate things. We cannot impose Hindi and we shall have to wait patiently for Hindi to be learnt by the people of every State.

5. ALL LANGUAGES SHOULD PROSPER

I FEEL VERY happy to release the three volumes which are kept here on the table and have been prepared by the Telugu Bhasha Samithi. I must say that it is a very valuable work done and the Bhasha Samithi, the Editorial Board and the main authors do deserve our heartiest congratulations for the production of these volumes.

Telugu is a rich language and, as was just now said by Shri Satyanarayana, one of the oldest amongst the Indian languages. It is creditable for Telugu to have kept up its momentum, to have maintained its standard and even to have tried to uplift it.

In so far as the regional languages, or what we may call the national languages, are concerned, it is our policy that they should develop, grow and prosper. There is not the slightest hint that the regional languages would be replaced by some other language. There was some talk about this recently at least in your neighbouring State. But I did make it clear before and I would like to repeat it once again that we love and deeply cherish the different regional languages to grow and develop. We do want that these languages should be used as a medium of education and also for official work in the States concerned and it is, therefore, only but natural that we like Telugu also to gradually become the medium of instruction and also the official language of the State.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. TONING UP DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

I HAVE SOME experience of administration in the sense that I have functioned as a minister for a number of years both in a State as well as at the Centre. Yet, I am still a layman. For a layman to speak in the presence of experts is always embarrassing. But I feel that a layman in power is not much of a risk. The real magic, the real secret of the success of an administrator, or of a minister, does not lie merely in dissecting certain problems ably and in a very astute manner. What is more important is that he should have his hands on the pulse of the country; he should be in a position to know about the thinking, about the approach, about the attitude of the people, so to say the mind of the people. In that context a layman may be sometimes better than a technocrat. The people judge us by what they get in their villages, by what they get in their cities. They judge us by the response and sympathy they get from the administrators. They are interested to know whether they get replies to their letters and complaints within a very reasonable period. These are small things, but the people really attach the highest importance to these things.

I have been to two villages this morning about 60 to 70 miles from here and I returned at about 4 o'clock. The villagers there told me that given sympathetic treatment and helpful attitude they would certainly do their best to increase agricultural production which has the highest importance at the present moment. Unless we can stabilise prices of

foodgrains, I don't think we can succeed in bringing down the prices. I was touched to hear of their difficulties which could be removed by the district authorities. But, at the present moment, unfortunately, our best officers have come over to the Secretariat. And the district offices are being manned by young officers. There should be some experience, some maturity, before an officer takes over as a District Magistrate or Collector of a district. The work of a District Magistrate is exceedingly important and it needs tact, balance as well as drive and push. The District Magistrate must have at least 6 to 7 years of experience. And even this period to my mind is a small one.

Unfortunately, there have been frequent transfers of District Magistrates. The average is about one year or even 6 to 8 months. Unless a District Magistrate is in his post in a district at least for 3 years or 4 years, he will not be able to produce any result. If there is any special complaint against the District Magistrate, certainly he should be transferred or removed or any other action taken. But these frequent transfers are no good at all. In the case of developmental activities, at the present moment there is no proper coordination. Formerly the District Magistrate used to be the coordinating authority, being in over all charge of the district, of every activity. Now there is the District Magistrate, the heads of various departments like irrigation, community development, etc. All these different units function independently. They are not under the control or guidance of the District Magistrate, but they have their direct connection with the heads of the department sitting in the provincial secretariat, or they may have some officers at the Divisional level. The result is that there is no proper coordination. This is not good.

Regarding procurement or purchase of foodgrains and also of its distribution, I have waited for some time thinking that things might improve. But I feel that unless Government takes some positive and effective steps soon, our people will have to face difficulties in the months to come. Again the district authorities come into the picture. Whether our officers in the district will do their job well is the point. I am not complaining when I say that there is lack of human touch in our administration. People think that it is easier to talk to the minister or to the Prime Minister but not to the District Magistrate, the Commissioner or the Collector.

We will be setting up the Foodgrains Corporation and we have immediately to go into the market to purchase paddy. How do we do that work? The private man will be there to purchase paddy from the cultivators. And the Government servants also will be there. There would be competition. The man who deals with the Kisan in the best manner possible will surely beat the other. Our officers will be on test.

I might say that the Indian Institute of Public Administration should be in a position to make an objective study of the district administration

and to make concrete suggestions for its improvement.

2. EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT

THIS IS PERHAPS a unique institution. I am told that there is no such institution in Asia, Africa or perhaps in other European countries, except perhaps in London, where executives, managers and others assemble both from the public and private sectors. This institution provides a good opportunity for the two sectors to meet and discuss their problems.

You are all aware that we are in the midst of executing our Five Year Plans. It is important that these plans and projects should be implemented properly and with skill and efficiency. It is wrong to think that all the private sector projects function much better than the public sector projects. It is just possible that some of the public sector projects may not be functioning as well as they should. Yet I know of some private sector projects, very big concerns, which have suffered terribly under private arrangements. Then they were taken over by the Government and have considerably improved. I merely wanted to suggest that efficient management is exceedingly important. There should be better management, there should be efficient production and there should be skill in tackling labourers and workers. I think these two or three things are basic. Those who have to implement the various plans and projects, assume much greater responsibility than those who have to function merely in an administrative capacity. I would like you to mix amongst yourselves freely and discuss problems and try to find solutions for them. I have every hope that while you are here, you will add to your knowledge and experience.

3. EFFICIENCY IN COMMUNICATIONS

THE P & T DEPARTMENT is one of the most popular departments with the people. It has to be because it comes into contact perhaps with almost every citizen of this country. I am glad that this department is continuously trying to provide for greater conveniences to the people.

Top : Speech at the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, on March 20, 1965
Bottom : Speech at the inauguration of the Delhi-Patna Subscriber Trunk Dialling Service on July 20, 1965

This new line which has been inaugurated today is something which is most welcome.

I must congratulate the department for making available the necessary equipment and also cable, all indigenous production, for putting up this line. I know I.T.I. has been doing exceedingly well. My desire is that it should try to export its items. Every public sector undertaking must make a clear-cut decision that it will export part of the items it produces. At least 25 per cent of the production, if possible, should be exportable.

I have no doubt that the equipment that you produce is first-rate. We are faced with foreign exchange difficulties which has somewhat assumed serious proportions. I do not want to create any kind of pessimism. We will overcome it. One of the ways of overcoming it would be to step up our export and cut down our imports.

You have to do something more for generating efficiency in the city (Delhi) itself in our internal telephone lines. You were able to hear Mr. Satya Narain Sinha and the Chief Minister so clearly and distinctly but it does not often happen in the city and there are constant interruptions. Even when you are engaged on a trunk telephone there are several interruptions. I don't know whether repairs are made quickly. Your people do reach the spot as early as they can and they try to repair it. But as soon as they have gone back we find the same trouble persisting. Delhi is the capital of India and it must give the most efficient service. In fact, I would like to have a complaint-free capital, if possible. We have definitely to improve our efficiency and I am sure we will do so.

4. ADMINISTRATORS OF TOMORROW

AN ADMINISTRATOR HAS obviously to administer the laws of the State and the policies of the Government. The laws of a State are a product of certain basic ethical and social values, of social conditions, of political institutions, of historical developments and of social and economic objectives. The laws thus reflect the policies of the people and the State. However, laws tend to be conservative. They have to be so because they provide the framework around which a society develops. Policies, on the other hand, are more flexible. They produce the laws and also flow out of them. So an administrator, when he administers the laws and their progeny—the rules, regulations and directives—

has to be conscious of the policies behind these regulations and the purpose which they are intended to serve.

An administrator is also a representative of the Government. Governing, I realise, is not a very fashionable word these days. But it is the basic duty of a Government to govern. Therefore, it also becomes the job of the administrator through whom the Government functions. The basic idea of governance, as I see it, is to hold the society together so that it can develop and march towards certain goals. The task of the Government is to facilitate this evolution, this progress. It must provide proper conditions and a proper climate for this purpose. While governing, the administrator must, therefore, keep certain trends in view. He should be aware of the policies which he has to implement and of the methods which are open to him for their implementation. He should know what the Government wants and at the same time be attuned to the needs of the people.

We have adopted a policy of planned development. Planning in various fields—agricultural, industrial and social—is being attempted on a truly massive scale. As far as the administration is concerned, this raises two important inter-connected issues: planning itself and its implementation. Some projects, for instance big industrial ventures, can be both planned and executed centrally. But the vast majority of plans have to be prepared and executed at the local level and the local plans have, through the State plans, to fit into the larger framework of the national plan. How far the process of planning and its implementation should be centralised and to what extent and in what ways it should be decentralised constitute important issues. The national objective has to be fulfilled. At the same time local initiative must be fostered.

These issues cannot be resolved in any simple fashion. Balance has to be achieved at different points in different sectors; the emphasis has to shift as development progresses, as experience is gained, and as technical and managerial skills develop.

The enormous task of social and economic revolution can be carried forward successfully only with the participation of the people. Obviously, the administrator has to go to the people. He has to identify himself with them. Yet he must retain his own identity and maintain a certain aloofness, so that he does not get embroiled in local politics. To a certain extent each man has to strike his own balance, but certainly his task would become easier if the administrator is genuinely dedicated to the cause. Nothing influences people more than true dedication and the spontaneous enthusiasm which it generates.

The post-Independence era has presented another problem that involves social and individual adjustment. This deals with the relationship between the politician and the administrator; to be more precise, between the public leader and the Government servant. The problem

has to be faced both at the local level and at the Governmental level. If I may share a secret with you, at the district level the politician generally prefers to be on the right side of the local administration. An administrator has to see that the politician continues to feel that way. He can ensure this only if his integrity is above board and if he is reasonably industrious. He must also realise that things have changed much in the last 20 years and are bound to change further. The administrator may be among the most enlightened men locally, but even if he is conscious of that, it should not make him feel superior or act superior.

At the Governmental level normally we have experienced administrators and also experienced public men. I would like to ask their pardon for saying so, but I believe that, in the course of getting to this stage, many angularities get rubbed off. It is, therefore, comparatively easier for them to work together and to complement each other.

I would like to refer to certain specialised areas of administration. Take for instance the District Magistrate. To large sections of the people he represents the Government. He has always been responsible for law and order and is now increasingly responsible for the developmental activities at the local level. He needs both prestige and authority and at the same time humility and dedication. Efforts to sustain his authority will have to be continued for quite some time. Therefore, the persons who are placed in charge of districts must be carefully selected. They should be experienced and should be given enough time to understand local problems.

In the case of industrial undertakings in the public sector and other larger nationalised services, the administrator should be reasonably familiar with the technicalities and the commercial problems involved. He must also develop the art of man-management. The younger executives must receive the necessary training. This aspect must compel the attention of top executives.

Our industrial undertakings should be able to provide the necessary goods and services to the people at the lowest possible cost and as efficiently and as quickly as possible. Cost consciousness and the need for an efficient system of accounting are, therefore, very necessary.

To sum up, we have to develop a clean, efficient, versatile, sensitive and responsive administration. Above all it has to be an administration in which people will have faith and confidence. This holds good today. But the demands on administration will become greater tomorrow. It is the tomorrow on which you should keep your eye.

NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

1. ANNUAL REMINDER

OCTOBER 20 HAS come to acquire a special significance for us all. It was on this date two years ago that our northern neighbour, whom we had treated as a friend, launched an attack on our borders. During the weeks that followed this fateful day the world witnessed a most heart-warming demonstration of the basic unity and solidarity of the Indian people.

The observance of National Solidarity Day is an annual reminder of this fundamental unity. On this day, the thoughts of the whole nation turn to our Armed Forces who gallantly guard our extensive borders and who have, throughout history, been famous for their courage and stamina. We believe in peace and peaceful development, not only for ourselves but for people all over the world. Our main preoccupation is with economic and social development at home and peace and friendship abroad. To our Armed Forces, who have been guarding our frontiers, facing the rigours of winter in the mountains; who have been taking part in peace-keeping programmes under the auspices of the UN and of the Geneva Agreement on Indochina; whose sense of discipline, unity and loyalty inspires the whole nation, I send my greetings on National Solidarity Day. The whole nation remembers them today with gratitude, affection and admiration.

2. STRENGTH THROUGH UNITY

WE WERE NOT very happy at the partition of India in 1947. It caused us immense sorrow to find that the land of the great Punjabis was divided—one half of it formed part of Pakistan. But we accepted the Partition Plan in the hope that India and Pakistan would live in peace and amity. We had hoped that the two would live as good neighbours and would embark on the path of economic progress. It is a matter of deep regret that ever since her creation, Pakistan has preached hatred against us. Pakistanis have called us *Kafirs* (infidels). Now they are preaching the slaughter of *Kafirs* in order to invoke heavenly blessings. Pakistan has launched aggression against us more than once. In 1947, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. Despite this provocation, we chose the path of peace. We agreed to cease-fire and a cease-fire line was drawn. Even after the cease-fire, Pakistanis continued to infiltrate into our territory year after year, and indulged in arson, loot and sabotage. They tried to build up dumps of ammunition in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan has continuously indulged in these nefarious activities for the last so many years.

In April this year, Pakistan invaded the Rann of Kutch. We resisted the invasion. Even after the Pakistani aggression in Kutch, I opted for a peaceful approach. I did not want war between India and Pakistan as war would inevitably cause death and devastation. I was of the view that a peaceful settlement consistent with our honour would be an ideal solution. Ultimately, an agreement was signed between India and Pakistan. While the agreement was being signed, Pakistan was making feverish preparations for an attack on Kashmir and on other parts of India. It became obvious that Pakistan wanted to annex Kashmir by force. Under these circumstances, the duty of the Government of India was clear. The Government could not stand by idly. The Government had already given proof of utmost patience in dealing with Pakistan. Our patience could not be allowed to mean that Pakistan could attack us with impunity and occupy any part of our territory. We had to give a suitable answer to the aggressor. We had to meet force with force.

Pakistan's attitude convinced me that no talks were possible. It is not consistent with our self-respect that we should bow down to aggression. No Indian worth the name can condone aggression. Any attack will be met with a fierce counter-attack. This is our firm resolve.

A cease-fire has been agreed to. It is obvious that in the present world a war cannot continue for long. There is always intense international diplomatic activity. There was a time when a war could be fought to the finish and an issue could be decided by victory or defeat. Now the world is drawn much closer. A small war in any part of the world can easily assume the proportions of a world conflagration. It is for this reason

that almost all countries are vitally concerned with conflicts anywhere. Big and small powers are naturally anxious to avoid a big conflagration.

India is a peace-loving nation. She is pledged to peace. It is our firm resolve to extend our support to all genuine efforts aimed at the promotion of peace. We would like the world to take a close look at our reasonable stand and not try to pressurise us. We cannot submit to anyone's dictation.

We are waiting to see what attitude other nations adopt. We are waiting to see what decision the Security Council takes. We are anxious to carry the world opinion with us. We desire the friendship of all nations. We have ill will towards none. Unfortunately, Pakistan and China have generated ill will and hostility towards us. Except these two countries, we have friendly relations with every country, be it the USA, the USSR, Germany, France, or countries of Africa and Asia. We have close relations and feelings of friendship for all these nations. We are naturally keen to carry all these nations with us in our just struggle against aggression. Much, however, depends on the attitude of these nations. We do not have an iota of doubt that truth and justice are on our side. If unfortunately some nations fail to see it, it does not mean that we should abdicate our responsibility. It is for us to determine what our duty is. Our brave and enthusiastic people possess the quality of cool deliberation. Important decisions have naturally to be taken after cool deliberation and not under the stress of emotion. The conflict with Pakistan called for vital decisions on my part. I may not have shown it but I had my share of excitement too. But the decisions to march our armies to Lahore, Sialkot and Barmer Road were taken after cool deliberation. I told the Generals that it was necessary to take this step and that it should be taken immediately. We should undoubtedly be enthusiastic but we cannot afford to lose our nerve. We have to build up our strength.

I cannot find adequate words to express my gratitude for the courage and the spirit of sacrifice displayed by the people. The impact of this spirit has been felt not only in this country but abroad also. We have maintained complete unity. No religious or linguistic differences have arisen during this crisis. We have stood united and spoken with one word. Our unity has increased the nation's strength. Our people have demonstrated that in the event of a threat to our freedom, we close our ranks and fight unitedly to safeguard our territorial integrity. Every Indian is prepared for sacrifices. We must maintain this unity. This is our real strength.

Our Armed Forces have fought with valour. They are not inhibited by considerations of caste, community or religion. People of all denominations have joined the Armed Forces. Our officers have fought shoulder to shoulder with their men. To these brave officers, who led their men in the battlefield, I send my congratulations through Lt. General Harbaksh

Singh, who is present at this meeting. Our brave officers did not forsake their men. The courage and valour of our officers raised the morale of the jawans fourfold. The officers put their all into the battle and did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives. It is an inspiring example of leadership. They destroyed superior enemy tanks and planes and continued to march forward after vanquishing the foe. The nation owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude to the jawans who have infused a new confidence and a new strength in us. Every Indian is filled with pride today; he feels that it is his own victory. The deeds of valour of our young officers and jawans will form a glorious chapter in the history of India. They are the flower of our youth. Some of them were grievously injured but I have seen nothing but a smile on their youthful faces. They were all keen to get back to the battlefield to have a measure of the enemy. One JCO told me that even after he was severely hit in one leg, he continued to fire till he killed a captain of the Pakistani army.

My meeting with Major Bhupendra Singh was touching. He is a brave officer. He suffered injury in every part of the body and blood oozed from every part. He could not even open his eyes. When he was told of my arrival in the hospital he opened his lips to say : "I am sorry, Sir, that I am unable to get up to show the respect due to my Prime Minister." I was overwhelmed to see him lying in that condition. Major Bhupendra Singh told me that he was not deterred by a hail of artillery fire. Despite injuries, he continued to fight and succeeded in destroying seven Pakistani tanks. His unit destroyed 31 tanks. The deeds of his valour will be written in letters of gold in the history of the war and will continue to inspire generations. This spirit of sacrifice raises our national prestige and our morale.

I am not a man of war. How can I be one? I am so short. Unlike Lt. General Harbaksh Singh, I am not strong. I love peace and try to resolve disputes peacefully. But if there is aggression on our territory I will discharge my responsibilities fully. The nation will stand up to fight off aggression and defeat the aggressor. That is our firm resolve.

The brunt of war has been borne by the Punjabis. The people of Punjab have displayed exemplary courage in facing the threat of Pakistani armies. Their saga of courage will not be easily forgotten. The Punjabi farmer cut his crop prematurely so that Pakistani paratroopers, hiding in standing crops, could be captured. He did not mind destroying his rich crop which provided a ready shelter to the enemy paratroopers. To a farmer his crop is dearer than his life. But the patriotism of the Punjabi farmer knows no bounds.

Many civilians in Amritsar and other areas lost their lives in air raids. The people of Punjab were not cowed down by air raids. They displayed great courage and their morale remained high. I wish to congratulate the people of Punjab and my Sikh brethren who are known for their

spirit of sacrifice. They are, in fact, the symbol of sacrifice. All those in Punjab and elsewhere in India who stood up against Pakistani aggression deserve our praise. Their sacrifice has given a new strength to the nation.

It is difficult to predict the future course of events. We cannot be complacent. I see some danger ahead. We cannot afford to relax our efforts. We have to be prepared for every sacrifice. We may have to do without some necessities of life. It is the Government's endeavour to provide the necessities of life to the people. But we cannot be too sure. We cannot say if our friends will continue to stand by us. Each one of us has, therefore, to be prepared for the biggest sacrifice. This should be constantly borne in mind. As I said, truth and justice are on our side and victory shall be ours.

3. SELF-RELIANCE AND UNITY

DURING THE PAST few days I have travelled around and visited a number of places. First of all I went to the forward areas in the Lahore and Sialkot sectors where I found the jawans of the Army and the Air Force in excellent spirits and fighting fit. In Bombay, Aurangabad and Paithan I saw lakhs and lakhs of people, their faces beaming with a new confidence and their eyes glittering with a new vision. When after the Chinese aggression, three years ago, we started celebrating National Solidarity Day on October 20, we had set ourselves an objective. The country today presents an inspiring picture. The nation's solidarity has been demonstrated to the whole world. There is a fierce new will to make good in all directions.

We are still in the midst of an emergency and may well have to live with it for quite a time. We must, therefore, take a long-term view of things and look into all aspects.

On the occasion of this year's Solidarity Day, which is to be observed tomorrow, let us determine to give practical shape to the keen desire of the people, so evident everywhere, to be self-reliant.

Self-reliance does not mean that we have everything that we need. No country in the world is self-sufficient in all respects. Self-reliance is an attitude of mind. A poor man can be self-reliant, while a wealthy person may be dependent on others. Self-reliance means the capacity to make the utmost of what we have and the courage to do without what we do not and what we cannot have.

There are three specific fields in which self-reliance is of the highest importance. First of all, our Armed Forces must be adequately equipped to defend our frontiers and to meet the challenges that we face. Our defence industries have, therefore, to be developed further at top speed. Next is the question of self-sufficiency in food about which I spoke to you only a few days ago. The farmers seem to realise their responsibility and their response is heartening and gratifying.

In the context of the present situation, we will have to do a lot more things ourselves than we have been doing so far.

While we should be grateful to those who extend us a helping hand, we must be ready to stand on our own feet, not in some distant future, but here and now. The question which we must ask ourselves is: what can we do to generate, through our own efforts, the resources we need for our development and defence?

These resources have to come out of what we produce. A good proportion of it has to be set aside for current consumption. If we want to hasten the attainment of self-reliance, we have in other words, to produce more and consume less.

I know it is not easy for us, whose levels of income are so low, to think in terms of cutting down consumption. And yet we have to remember that if we save more today, We shall have more to spend tomorrow. This is as true of nations as it is of individuals. We have to make a sacrifice in order to give a better life to our children and the future generations in the years to come. We may have, therefore, to deny ourselves many things today. During the last fifteen years, through three Five Year Plans, incomes have been rising and the levels of consumption of foodgrains, of sugar, of cloth, of bicycles, of radios and many other things have been going up from year to year. If we want to hasten progress, we have to go slow with increases in consumption. Incomes may rise, but the levels of expenditure have to be kept down.

There are a number of schemes of small savings in existence today. A Post Office Savings Bank Account can be opened by anyone with as little as two rupees. Sums of ten rupees can be invested in National Savings Certificates which will give you eighteen rupees in ten years' time. Then there are the Twelve-Year National Defence Certificates which have the advantage of giving a very good rate of interest free of tax. In the present emergency, the drive for investment in the Defence Savings Certificates has to be given a fresh momentum. Significant results can be achieved if the requisite effort is made. For instance, the Maharashtra Government has succeeded within a few days in securing an investment of about two crores of rupees, and this is only the beginning. Even people with low incomes can invest in these and help the defence effort.

We now propose to introduce a new scheme. Government has decided to issue a National Defence Loan in two series. There will be a

seven-year loan which will carry an interest of 4.75 per cent and a three-year loan at an interest of 4.25 per cent. These loans will be available on tap for subscription without limit. Subscriptions can be made in rupees as well as foreign exchange. Non-residents subscribing to the loan in foreign exchange will be granted facilities for the repatriation of the principal and interest which will be free of tax.

In the present crisis too, people have spontaneously contributed to the National Defence Fund and every day I receive donations, large and small, from all sections of the community, from all parts of the country and even from abroad. I have no doubt that the new National Defence Loans will get the most enthusiastic response from the people. What I want is that these loans and savings certificates should be subscribed by each and everyone.

What I have said so far relates to internal resources. Even more critical is our shortage of external resources, of what is known as foreign exchange. This is because both for our development and our defence we have to import a large variety of things which are not being produced in the country. This is perhaps the most serious weakness of all and we have to ask ourselves how we should tackle it. Quite obviously we have to import less and to export more. We have to make a sustained effort to produce in India what we have been importing from outside and also to find indigenous substitutes for imported articles.

The old gospel of Swadeshi which Gandhiji preached to us is as valid today as it was forty years ago. We must revive the same spirit and generate the same enthusiasm.

While efforts have to be made to reduce imports and stimulate exports, it will take a little time before we can see positive results. Meanwhile, there is one source of foreign exchange in the country itself which in the present emergency we must mobilise. I refer to the holdings of gold in the country. People have given some of this gold to the National Defence Fund as well as to the Gold Bonds which have been issued in the past. Quite understandably, however, they have been reluctant to part permanently with their gold which, for many, represents the savings of generations. They are anxious to hand over the gold to their children just as they themselves have received it from their parents. In this respect also a new scheme is being started. A new series of Gold Bonds called the National Defence Gold Bonds will be issued subscriptions to which will be in gold and Government will return an equivalent quantity of gold of standard purity after fifteen years. During the period that the gold is with Government, an interest of two rupees for every ten grams of gold subscribed will be paid every year. No income-tax will be charged on this nor will the Gold Bonds be subject to Wealth Tax. The Bonds will be transferable and free from Capital Gains Tax. Certain concessions in respect of Gifts Tax and Estate Duty will also be given. The weights are in terms of gold

of standard purity, in terms of which all offers of gold will be assayed and accepted and ultimately returned. No action will be taken against subscribers on the ground that the provisions of the Gold Control Order or the Income-Tax Act have been infringed. The identity of the subscriber will not be disclosed.

Here then is an opportunity for everyone who has gold in the country, either in the shape of ornaments or as bullion, to put it to a noble cause, to finance the import of equipment and materials needed for our defence and development without, however, giving up the ownership of the gold and the possibility of selling or making a gift of it at one's discretion. What is more, this gold will start earning a return.

There is another source of foreign exchange which should be harnessed in the present emergency. Indians living abroad can be of much help to the country. I know the same feelings throb in their hearts as in ours. In fact their feelings may be more intense as they are away from their Motherland. Whether they have permanently migrated or are temporarily out of India, they often send remittances to their relations and dependents in this country. There has been a tendency for these remittances to be diverted to unofficial channels which are more profitable. When the country is facing a major crisis, I would like to appeal to all Indians abroad to send whatever money they do, through official channels alone. It has been decided to introduce a scheme under which Indian nationals receiving certain kinds of remittances from abroad through normal banking channels, will be granted import licences to the extent of sixty per cent of the value of the remittances. These remittances are free of Indian taxes. Indian residents holding foreign exchange abroad with the approval of the Reserve Bank would also get the benefit of import licences under this scheme if they bring such money back to India. These import licences would be valid for the import of certain approved commodities, particularly raw materials in short supply and capital equipment needed for stepping up production in the country.

Formal announcements giving details of the various schemes to which I have referred are being made separately by the Ministry of Finance. These matters, however, are not purely financial. The money, the foreign exchange and the gold are all needed to strengthen the country. Let every man contribute according to his means, the utmost that he can, in the knowledge that by doing so, he will make the nation self-reliant.

My countrymen, we must take time by the forelock and try unitedly to push the country forward towards self-reliance and growth. We as a country are endowed with rich natural resources and we should also have the will and the determination to apply ourselves. Let us then join the crusade and success will not elude us.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. TEACHER : A CRUSADER

THE TEACHER ENJOYED a place of high honour and respect in the ancient Indian culture. He now plays a vital role in the crusade against ignorance and illiteracy. It is essential, therefore, that he should be well looked after by the community.

Unfortunately, until some years ago the economic and social status of the school teachers in this country left much to be desired. After the attainment of independence a number of schemes were initiated by the national Government with a view to improving the salary scales and service conditions of teachers, but their efforts did not meet with the desired degree of success because of financial limitations. It was then decided to channelise philanthropy as a supplementary source for the welfare of the teachers, and the National Foundation for Teachers' Welfare came to be established.

The objects of the Foundation, viz., the provision of financial assistance to those teachers and their dependents who may, due to circumstances beyond their control, find themselves in financial distress, and the grant of suitable amounts on their retirement to such selected teachers as have rendered exceptionally meritorious service, are laudable ones.

The response from the public since the establishment of the Foundation has been encouraging but much more remains to be done before the target set for the corpus of the Foundation is achieved. I should also like to add here that it is a doubly worthy cause; the collections made by the Foundation are invested in the National Defence Bonds, thus helping the country in its preparedness against external aggression.

It is appropriate that the Teachers' Day should be celebrated every year on the 5th of September, which is the birth anniversary of that foremost teacher and distinguished son of India—our President, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. I gladly send my good wishes on the occasion and hope that everyone will contribute liberally to the National Foundation for Teachers' Welfare on this day.

2. PEACE THROUGH KARMA

THIS EVENING'S FUNCTION is for this place undoubtedly an important one. Lord Venkateswara lives here and whenever one comes here he gets peace of mind and some kind of solace in his heart.

It is good that sometimes we politicians should come here and get some relief from our day-to-day activities which are full of conflicts, rivalries and competitions. If you take time away from your daily activities and come to a peaceful place like this, it gives you immense relief and also perhaps puts you in a better position to work for the welfare of your countrymen or for running the administration either at the Centre or in the States.

Andhra Pradesh is a prosperous State. It is rich in agriculture, minerals and forests. But I did not fully realise that their Gods are also richer than others. And Krishnappaji says Lord Venkateswara is the richest of all. God is neither rich nor poor. But it is for us—those who are the devotees—to see to it that every pie that comes to the temple should be properly utilised and I am glad to note that the management of this temple is the best.

The Government of India is seriously considering as to what steps should be taken for the better management of the temples in all the States. We had set up a committee with Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as the chairman to make recommendations in this regard. They have made very careful recommendations—positive recommendations—but we want to go ahead with them without hurting the sentiments of the people, especially the religious-minded people. When things can be managed well at Tirupati—it gives help and relief to the devotees and also provides funds for social welfare—why then should it not be possible for other temples to adopt the same course?

Mysore has done well to set up their cottages, etc., here. Now they propose to put up these new buildings which will have 90 rooms. Do not

try to build superstructures here in Tirupati. Let the buildings be simple and useful. Do not convert Tirupati into a big city like Bangalore. It should remain a quiet place. At the present moment we rush from one place to the other. We are not satisfied with the trains, and we switch over to aeroplanes. We are not satisfied with dakotas, viscounts and now you will have jet planes. They will travel at speeds of 400 to 600 miles per hour. So there is no end to speed. But the real objective is a peaceful life, a peaceful mind.

Whether you adopt *Karma Marg*, *Bhakti Marg* or *Gyan Marg*, *Gyan*, *Bhakti* and *Karma* remain the means to achieve the highest objectives. There are few *Gyanis*, knowledgeable people, who attain perfection only with the help of their knowledge, their *Gyan*, their *Vidya*. They can see unity in diversity not with their own eyes—physical eyes—but they see within themselves. Similarly, a *Karmayogi* with selfless motives does not bother much about the consequences. He does his duty and leaves the result to God. But for weaker people like us, even if you work in the political field or social field or in any other field of activity, if you want to achieve success, if you want to discharge your responsibilities fully, there has to be a combination of devotion and action, of *Bhakti* and *Karma*. These places are good for us as we get peace of mind here.

I know that religion in the past has done wonders in the country, not from religious point of view but even from political point of view. It has been the source and means of complete integration of India. Thousands of people go from different parts to Prayag, Allahabad, to have a dip in the Sangam. Similarly thousands of others go to Rameswaram, the southernmost point of our country and to the place of Lord Venkateswara.

If religion is practised in its proper form it can not only give real satisfaction to the individuals but it can also bring about a great change and revolution in the whole country. *Darshan* of God is all right as a source of great solace. But *darshan* within is also important. We just have the *darshan* of Lord Venkateswara, be happy for a moment and as soon as we come out we deliberately or with some ulterior purpose or motive do things which are against the rules of morality. Religion has to be practised both from without and from within. It has both to be external and internal. I am very glad that there is such a desire in the country at the present moment. Especially our younger generation—I am referring to the Hindus—must know something of the *Geeta*, of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. How many of our younger people, especially boy students, have read the whole *Geeta*, the whole of *Ramayana* and the whole of *Mahabharata*? They have not. They do not do it. And Gandhiji once said that “I do not consider that boy to be a Hindu who has not read the whole of *Ramayana* and the whole of *Bhagavad Geeta*. In fact, he insisted that every

Hindu boy should learn Sanskrit so that he can read *Bhagavad Geeta* and *Mahabharata*. It is important that we should lay special emphasis and stress on the values of life. While we worship and go to the temples, we should translate the philosophy of life and the preachings of our great seers and sages into action, into our day-to-day life.

It seems Mysore was a rich State in the past and therefore it agreed to pass over this temple to Andhra Pradesh. So, as they were rich, they had to part with their riches. In the present day world, there is no way out except to build a society in which there will be equitable distribution of wealth. We cannot all be equals. There is diversity and there are differences. What is needed is equitable, fair and just distribution of wealth. It will keep the people happy and also make life worth living.

I am indeed very happy that I have been able to visit Tirupati and I had the *darshan* this morning. Whenever I get an opportunity I shall indeed like to come here and derive real solace and real satisfaction.

3. THE RULE OF LAW

MAHATMA GANDHI MADE no difference between political freedom and social and economic freedom. I remember how he changed the whole climate in 1930 when he started a Satyagraha, the Civil Disobedience Movement, a struggle for freedom. One of the programmes of our national struggle was to picket the shops which used to sell foreign cloth. Gandhiji advised that women alone would do this work of picketing the foreign cloth shops. The police were present all the time. They would stop these women volunteers from functioning; there were lathi charges and baton charges; and the women were put in lorries and sent to prisons and jails. A great revolutionary as Gandhiji was he did not think of the consequences. He said a man or a woman must act, and if they were acting for the truth they must be prepared to face the consequences. And those of us who belong to India, of course, know the fact. But I would also like the foreign delegates to know that millions of women came forward to take part in this national struggle. These were the same women who formerly used to live in *pardah*, who did not like to go out of their houses. This great change was brought about by Gandhiji in a moment's time.

He was followed by my distinguished predecessor Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was equally keen and, if I might say so, a much more modern man than Gandhiji. To deal with this problem he tried to tackle it in

his own way. He got an opportunity to do so, to advance on this path because he became the Prime Minister. As the Prime Minister, he had Parliament at his disposal. With the thumping majority he had, he made laws which eliminated any kind of distinction or difference that existed between men and women in India.

We in this country have a written Constitution and we have, in that Constitution, fully recognised the supremacy of the individual and of his or her rights. You can well imagine the importance of a written Constitution. There is clear provision for fundamental rights of men and women, of human rights. Every citizen is entitled to challenge the action of the Government or of anyone else, if there is an encroachment on those rights. Every person, as I said, can go to the Supreme Court, the highest court, with a writ and can challenge the action of the Government or even perhaps of the Legislature. Very recently, there was some kind of conflict between a Legislature and a High Court. And ultimately what did the Government of India decide? They decided to refer the matter to the Supreme Court. The point is that even this Central Government, which rules over a vast country, has to refer matters to the Supreme Court if there is a conflict between the Legislature and the Judiciary. In this way we will see that the dignity, the honour and the respect of human beings is absolutely safe in our country. I am not trying to claim too much; I am merely referring to what is actually provided in our written Constitution.

It is important that in a democracy the rule of Law should prevail. It will be regrettable, indeed, if the citizens of a democratic country do not fully realise their obligations. In this country, during our freedom struggle, we defied the laws and courted imprisonment. We did it in a different context altogether. But even then at that time, Gandhiji was very particular to defy only those laws which were harmful to the people, which as a whole were bad and which were not in the general interest of this country or of our countrymen. He defied the Salt Law. He said in this poor country people did not even have salt to eat with bread. Why then, he asked, there should be any kind of tax imposed on salt? He could not resist the temptation of defying the Salt Law and started making salt himself. We did this in the past, in a different setting, in a different background. But today any country which is free, independent and has a democratic set-up, the responsibility of the people there becomes very important. I think that rule of law, if it is properly observed will keep peace in the society, in the country. In a way, it means victory of reason over arbitrariness. And it is very important that if democracy has to succeed the importance of rule of law has to be fully realised. No one can do it better than the lawyers. How could this society live peacefully and develop?—only if the laws made by the representative government are not defied and the authority is, by and large, respected.

This rule of law is in no way less essential in the international context. There is some kind of chaotic situation in the world today. Although we are highly civilised and science and technology have made great advance, there is no peace in the world. There is a cold war atmosphere in some places and sometimes there are conflicts also, endangering the peace of the world. The manufacture and the explosion of atom bomb has further added an edge to it, a deplorable edge! I do not want to condemn one country or the other but I must say that in Asia for the first time a country has exploded the atom bomb. In Asia we are still struggling for economic and social equality for creating a new social order, where man will get at least the bare necessities of life. And yet, in this context, in this background a country in Asia should manufacture atom bomb and explode it is a matter of the greatest regret for all of us. I do not want to complain against any country, but I know even in China the people's standard of life has yet to be improved. They are more or less like the people in this country and are on the same level and in the same category. It is most important for the underdeveloped countries that they should look after their people first and then think in terms of arming themselves or building up huge defence forces.

I know you are all keenly interested in the maintenance of peace in this world and I have no doubt that you, who are the intellectuals, the lawyer community, either in India or outside, are the men who can build up the necessary public opinion—men and women both. And I would like you, those who understand the implications of these things much better than others, to consider as to what steps you should take to fight this menace, to fight the menace of armaments and to fight the menace of atom bomb.

4. SERVE THE POOR

IT SEEMS THAT you have some doubt or suspicion in regard to my attitude towards the medical science and especially in regard to the allopathic system. The first speaker, and to some extent even Dr. Patel, indirectly made a mention that they hoped that the old policies of the Government would be pursued and will be followed. I can give them a categorical assurance that I have no doubt at all in this regard and even if I do want to make any change, perhaps I might not succeed in that effort.

Well, it is true that I am not a completely modern man, hundred per cent. I am somewhat a conservative person in regard to many matters and

as I have had to work in the rural areas, in the villages, for about half a century as a small worker, my attention is naturally drawn to those people and to the conditions prevailing in those areas. It comes to my mind that the first thing to be done is to give relief to those people. How to give relief to them is most important for me, every day and every hour. I do not mean to deny the fact that medical education has to increase and expand. I do consider it absolutely essential that there should be more dispensaries, more hospitals and greater facilities for education in medicine. But I do not want completely to denounce other systems of medicine, whether they are perfect or imperfect. They may be wholly unsatisfactory, yet if it would give some relief to the common man living in the rural areas, I would not personally like to deny that facility to the people who are living in far off places and where our doctors are generally not inclined to go. I also do not want to accept that our indigenous system or systems of medicine are completely or basically wrong. You may advise them, you may point out what their failings are but do not close your minds completely to the other systems of medicine and treatment.

Well, since I referred to the rural areas, I would like to say a few words more on that subject. I cannot give you any special advice in regard to research or medical education, etc; I am not qualified for that. But as a worker and as one who has to keep in touch with the people of India, I am more interested in what your approach and attitude of mind are towards the people, while you are practising as a doctor or working in a hospital. That is very important for me and, I think, for the country as a whole. I have visited some of the rural hospitals. And I must say, I was most pained to see an ill-equipped dispensary—ill-equipped in every sense of the word. No medicine practically, doctors not available, the compounder completely illiterate, and even beds were not available. And it was going to be converted into a hospital very soon, a small hospital. I saw two patients lying there. It was a pitiable sight. The point is what do we do about these rural areas? Are the doctors willing to go to villages and serve there? There is some kind of resistance, I don't say amongst all, but perhaps amongst a large number of young men who qualify, who get their M.B.B.S. degree. I cannot deny that they do not get even the bare minimum facilities which should be provided to them. But they have also to remember the fact that for some time to come these facilities may not be available in those areas and your nobility lies in the fact that you serve those people in spite of the impediments or the difficulties you may have to face.

I entirely agree that the Government should seriously consider as to what they can do to give special facilities or incentives to the doctors to live and work amongst the villagers. Housing facilities should be provided. I know it would be a costly business to build houses in each and every village or in all those places where the hospitals are established or dispensaries are established. But some kind of a house should be taken on rent and the

rent should be paid by the Government instead of asking the doctors to pay. I would like to give them double, treble increments, if it is possible. I don't know what the rules are : these are very strict. But rules should not bind us completely hand and foot. If it is necessary to change the rules, we should do so in order to help millions of our people who are in difficult conditions. We should not concentrate merely on numbers. Quality is much more important. We should have enough of medicines, necessary staff, either compounders, nurses or doctors, even if we do not have a large number of hospitals and dispensaries.

In the same connection I might also refer to the attitude of the doctors towards the patients or the people who go to the hospitals or dispensaries. With apologies to you, I feel that there has to be a radical change in your approach to the common man, to the poorer people, to those who go to the hospitals in torn and dirty clothes. If I go there well dressed I get all the facilities. Now, of course, I get all the attention because I happen to be the Prime Minister. But it is no way less important that the poorer sections of our people get the necessary attention in the hospitals. I can say without fear of contradiction that generally white collared people are very well attended to. But others have to wait for hours and hours. If a patient has to wait for an hour and after waiting for an hour, he is attended to properly, treated sympathetically, and given enough time, well, he would not mind. He would rather forget that he had to wait for one hour or so.

In Government hospitals, doctors cannot afford to have that kind of attitude which we find generally in the Secretariat. In the Secretariat we sit on a big table, in a big room and hold very high positions. We deal with papers and we pass orders as we think best. But there you are dealing with human beings, you are not dealing with papers. You are not passing orders on certain proposals. Thereafter, the whole approach has to change, the whole attitude has to change. If you can give sympathy you will give necessary relief to the people. I have visited some of the Rama Krishna Ashram hospitals. They are small ones but very clean. There is no servant as such, no class IV staff. The Sanyasis do the sweeping. The way they serve makes the patients feel that these people are a blessing. They don't get the sanie treatment when they go to our Government hospitals. I don't know why there should be this difference in the attitude of the doctors who serve in Government hospitals and of those who serve in other hospitals. We are now free and independent and, therefore, we have to realise our great sense of responsibility towards our people in whatever profession we might be. But in your profession, it is still more important.

5. NEED FOR A NATIONAL ACADEMY

I NEED HARDLY tell you of the growing importance of science and technology, particularly in a developing country like ours. Our late Prime Minister had realised quite early in the forties that science and technology were instruments of social regeneration. Naturally he had given a pride of place to science and technology in the activities of his government. Today, in every country science is a part of governmental activity and it was no wonder, therefore, that immediately after Independence, the Government of India took steps to set up major scientific organisations in the country like the Defence Science Organisation, the Atomic Energy Establishment, the University Grants Commission and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in its present form with its chain of National Laboratories. The Indian Parliamentary and Scientific Committee, a non-official body, was constituted three years ago to bring about a proper appreciation of the role of science and the implicit need of developing a scientific approach and of bringing about a scientific temper in the country. Our late Prime Minister was the Founder-President of this committee.

The task ahead of us is very great. While our population is on the increase, the physical resources by way of land, irrigation facilities, sources of energy or power are limited. We have, therefore, to resort to a planned development of our resources. Whether it is a question of agriculture, industry or public health or defence, our work will be considerably simplified if we avail of the latest results of science and technology and use them to our best advantage. The framers of policy must necessarily draw heavily on scientists and technologists. How essential it is then for our Parliament to be kept well-informed on scientific matters. The Parliamentary and Scientific Committee has, therefore, a very important responsibility. It will largely be for this committee to function as a forum for the exchange of views between parliamentarians and policy-makers on the one hand and the scientists and technologists on the other so that the results of modern science might be available in formulating Government's major policies.

In our country we have a very old tradition of scientific thinking. Even in today's world of highly developed science and technology, the status of Indian science has been kept to international standing by several of our outstanding scientists. We are indeed so proud of them. However, in addition to the individual greatness of our scientists we need a collective purpose for science and technology in the country, particularly in view of the massive support which is being given to science by the Government.

My distinguished predecessor, the late Panditji, was the architect of the Scientific Policy Resolution which assured an honoured place to

scientists and technologists in the country. This policy will have to be followed and extended.

In bringing about the social revolution we are aiming at, science and technology are of the utmost importance. But still more important, as stressed in the Scientific Policy Resolution, are the spirit, will and determination of the people to bring about this revolution. Gandhiji, through his unique example and dedication, strengthened the resolution of the people to fight for and achieve political freedom. We need something of the same spirit of selflessness and dedicated service if we are to bring about an economic and social transformation in this great country of ours. It is also pertinent to remind ourselves that for the growth of science we need, above everything else, a climate of serious and sustained work. We need a climate which will encourage good work, and offer every incentive to young men and women devoted to the pursuit of truth with zest and determination.

But science and technology, if they are to play their proper role in the progress of our country, must be intimately linked to the life and work of the common man in the country. Science must not, therefore, be confined to ivory towers or encased within the walls of big buildings and big laboratories; it should be carried to the factories and more so to the fields and to the farms and to the remote villages. While addressing the session of the 1947 Science Congress Gandhiji said : "For a hungry man or a hungry woman, Truth has little meaning. He wants food. And India is a hungry starving country, and to talk of Truth and God, and even of many of the fine things of life, to the millions who are starving is a mockery. So, science must think in terms of the few hundred million persons in India. Obviously you can only think in those terms and work along those lines on the wider scale of coordinated planning."

Immediately after the Chinese emergency, many of the research programmes in our scientific organisations had been oriented to meet defence needs. I am extremely happy about it and would expect similar purposefulness of effort all round. I would like to refer in particular to agricultural research which has such a vital bearing on the problem of increased food production. It seems that agricultural research has not received, and is perhaps even now not receiving, the emphasis that it ought to have had in our country. In the context of our present situation it is most important that in the agricultural sector research and technology are given the high importance and priority.

In our scientific work in the field of agriculture, and in other sectors, we should, of course, welcome outside assistance both in terms of men and materials. Every care should, however, be taken to see that such assistance does not make us too dependent on others and dampen our own initiative. There can be no substitute for our own hard work, our own initiative, and our own enterprise. Keeping to our traditions, we should

stress more the substance than the form, more the quality of the contents rather than the container. Science advances, as it were, on two fronts—the front of complexity and the front of simplicity. The two advances go together. But the point is that in a country like ours we should stress more the advance on the front of simplicity. We should exploit more those techniques of science which are relatively modest, and lay special stress on those fields of science which are more directly concerned with our own needs and our development and well-being.

While fundamental research in science is of the highest importance, the application of the results of such research to the methods, procedures and processes in industry, in agriculture and in other sectors of our every-day life is no less important. There has to be a continuous striving for improvement in the tools that we employ and the machines that we use. At the present stage of our economic development, we have to import a good deal of machinery from abroad. One hears so often of an improved model or version becoming available within a relatively short time. This is because there is a sustained endeavour on the part of scientists and technologists to invent and apply new devices and techniques. Mechanical articles which are needed for use in every-day life are also being continuously improved. This continuous striving for improvement must be a feature of all our scientific and technical activity. This calls for ceaseless vigilance and sustained application. I would be happy if attention could be devoted specially to agricultural implements and to other simpler machines.

It seems to be important that we should have in the country what may be called a National Academy of Scientists. There are scientific academies in the country, but a truly national academy representative of Indian science and playing a vigorous role in the life of the country has perhaps still to be established. It seems, however, that the organisation of such an academy, while drawing upon the experience of other countries, would have to be such as would take into account our special needs, conditions and requirements. We need a Scientific Academy to play its part in promoting science, in creating a climate conducive to scientific work, in recognising outstanding scientific contribution and talent and in furthering international contacts between Indian science and world science. An important work of the Academy would be to render advice to the Government on matters affecting science, scientific policy, and its impact on national life.

Our resources are very limited. But success in science and scientific work comes not through the provision of unlimited or big resources, but in the wise and careful selection of problems and objectives. Above all, what is required is hard sustained work and dedication.

6. PREPARE FOR BETTER CITIZENSHIP

I AM GLAD to know that the Aligarh Muslim University has achieved all-round expansion and development since the attainment of Independence. I understand the number of students has gone up nearly three times and the number of faculty members has more than doubled. The financial assistance given by the Central Government has increased more than fourteen times during the last few years. The extensive funds provided by the Government of India have helped the University authorities in developing and strengthening its various departments. The Institute which promotes, among other things, the study of Islamic culture and civilisation and the teaching of modern Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages and literature has been playing an important role in the achievement of some of the traditional objectives of the University. The growing importance of Arabic in the present-day world cannot be sufficiently emphasised. With the emergence of great Arabic speaking nations in Africa and Western Asia the language has assumed much greater importance and significance and you will be interested to know that in the Indian Foreign Service Arabic is now treated as one of the important languages which officers should learn.

I am also glad to know that the commendable development of the University has not been confined to the traditional fields of knowledge and that the various aspects of modern knowledge have also made rapid strides during the last few years. A medical college has been established and the Engineering Faculty has made remarkable progress—in fact the University is rated as one of the outstanding institutions in the field of mechanical engineering today. The University has also taken in hand an important project of setting up an extensive agricultural farm which has been approved by the Government.

I do not propose to talk today about the need for reforming our educational system. Eminent educationists and leaders of public opinion have from time to time given expression to views which are well known. The entire process of education has to be viewed as an integrated whole and we have to be clear about the objectives that we wish to achieve. As you all know, the country is engaged at present in a process of economic development. Indeed we are going through what may be termed a period of industrial revolution. A large number of structural, industrial and other types of units are being set up throughout the country. For manning these the country needs a large number of well-trained technical people. The Aligarh University has devoted considerable attention to engineering education and other universities have also done the same. Four large technical institutions have been set up in the country. Now that

we are contemplating a Fourth Plan whose size would be equal to that of all the first three Five Year Plans put together, our requirements for technical personnel will be substantially larger. I should, therefore, like all universities and technical institutions to make an assessment of the expansion that they can undertake for increasing the number of students for technical courses and to formulate specific proposals.

The academic content of technical education has to be good and substantial, but it is equally important that our young engineers and scientists should have a practical approach to problems. I would like them to be anxious to use their own hands in order to do a good job. It is an approach of this nature that will enable the country to make rapid headway in the matter of industrial development.

I would now like to say a few words to you, my young friends, who have already graduated and have received their degrees and diplomas today. The completion of education marks a turning point in the life of every individual. Naturally your anxiety must be to get suitable employment which is essential for finding the means to live. Opportunities for employment are being created increasingly as our development plans are implemented. The Fourth Five Year Plan, for instance, which will commence in less than a year and a half from now, envisages altogether about twenty million jobs. It cannot be said that everyone who has acquired a degree or a diploma will find employment immediately but most of you would in due course find yourselves employed in one capacity or another. There is equality of opportunity for everyone and to a large extent your future is really in your own hands.

Whatever your station in future life, each one of you should first of all think of yourselves as citizens of the country. This confers on you certain rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution, but it also subjects you to certain responsibilities which also have to be clearly understood. Ours is a democracy which enjoins freedom to the individual, but this freedom has to be subjected to a number of voluntary restraints in the interests of organised society. And these voluntary restraints have to be exercised and demonstrated in every-day life. A good citizen is one who obeys the law, whether there is a policeman around or not, and who takes delight in performing his civic duties.

In the olden days a sense of self-restraint and discipline was inculcated by the combined effort of the family and the teacher. The economic stresses of present-day life unfortunately do not leave enough time to the parents to look after their children. In the educational institutions the numbers have grown so large as to take away the benefits which used to accrue formerly by personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Inevitably, our young students are often left much to their own resources. Often this creates problems which we all know about. This is an important aspect which

needs thorough examination.

The responsibility of our young citizens is great. In my view every station in life is important in itself. Work has its own dignity and there is great satisfaction in doing one's own job to the best of one's ability. Whatever the duties, we should apply ourselves with sincerity and devotion. Such an approach, apart from being good in itself, also has the added advantage of opening avenues of further advancement. We have to see whether we have done our own job well before thinking of criticising anybody else. All too often, we succumb to the temptation of decrying others without bothering to look at ourselves. Never forget that loyalty to the country comes ahead of all other loyalties. And this is an absolute loyalty, since one cannot weigh it in terms of what one receives. It is essential to remember that the entire country is one and that anyone who fosters or promotes separatism or fissiparous tendencies is not our true friend. What I have said stems from a desire to see that the youth of our country prepares itself in a disciplined and determined manner for the responsibilities of tomorrow. A democratic country is sustained not by the greatness of a few but by the co-operative efforts of the many. The future of the country is in your hands and as the older generations complete their task the new ones come along to take their place. If they are well equipped as individuals and as citizens, the country's future will be bright indeed. At a time when you are at the threshold of a new period in your life I would urge you to play your role with confidence and dignity.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, you have paid a rich and fitting tribute to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's faith in secularism and the keen interest and unfailing encouragement which he extended to this University at all times. Our position with regard to secularism is known so well that it hardly needs any reiteration. It is embodied in our Constitution which ensures equal respect for all religions and equal opportunities for all citizens irrespective of their caste and creed and the faith which they profess. In spite of a seeming diversity, there is a fundamental unity in India which we all cherish, and it has to be our constant endeavour to maintain and strengthen this unity. The country can progress only if it does away completely with fissiparous tendencies and emerges as an integrated whole. And it is in the field of education that the seed of secularism has to be sown at the earliest stages so that the plant can be carefully nurtured as it grows.

The world is at the moment passing through very difficult times. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that never before in the recent past had mankind to grapple with problems of as complex a nature as are confronting it today. It is imperative that satisfactory and, as far as possible, lasting solutions should be found to these problems without undue delay, otherwise there is a danger of the situation getting out of hand. Mutual suspicions, hatred and ill-will between nations and groups of persons have

to be removed at all costs and sincere and determined efforts have to be made to ensure that differences and outstanding problems are resolved by mutual discussion in a spirit of understanding, and not by the use of force. Wars and conflicts, as we know to our cost, always create more problems than they succeed in solving. The great advances made by science and technology, particularly in the field of nuclear and thermonuclear energy have placed an almost unlimited power at the disposal of mankind. This power can be used either for constructive or for destructive purposes and it is up to us to try to derive the fullest possible benefit from it.

We in India have our own special problems. No one can deny that some of them are of a serious nature and must be tackled with vigour and determination. Our national objective has been defined clearly and unambiguously. We aim that every citizen should be provided with the basic necessities of life and should have complete freedom to lead the life of his or her own choice. We aim at a democratic society, strong and free, in which every citizen, irrespective of his religious belief, will occupy an equal and honoured place, and will be given full and equal opportunities for growth and service. We aim at the removal of untouchability and the doing away of the prevailing serious inequalities in status and wealth. We are opposed to the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Our rich cultural heritage, extending over countless centuries, is not the culture of this community or that but the synthesis of the cultures of the great peoples who lived here at various times in the past. The objectives I have mentioned are by no means easy of achievement in their entirety. I know that we have met with only a limited degree of success so far, but we have to persevere until the goal is achieved.

I should like to mention here that the concept that Muslims constitute a minority in India and Hindus a majority is totally outmoded and it should now be firmly rejected. The emphasis on religion as a basis of defining majorities and minorities in a secular state is quite misplaced and a contradiction in terms. You all understand, I am sure, that religion does not aim at dividing ; on the other hand, all true religions have a basic unity.

It must be remembered that the vast majority of Indians are extremely poor and it is only a small minority that live in relative comfort and have the benefit of university education and other worthwhile things. It is only when we look at the Indian scene in such a perspective that the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees and others, instead of feeling that they are different, will together begin to put forth a tremendous effort to fight poverty, to eradicate disease and banish illiteracy.

7. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

THREE IS A great awakening amongst the women of our country, especially since Independence. During the Independence struggle also Gandhiji gave a great lead and the women of our country took an important part and played a great role in the emancipation of India. However, since the achievement of Independence, their role has changed and they have now engaged themselves in constructive and developmental activities.

Education is an important part of our social life. But if only the boys are educated and not the girls, then perhaps half of our population will be bereft of the knowledge of what is happening in our surroundings. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that along with the education of boys there should be equal opportunity for the girls to learn and to qualify. I have no doubt that the girls have, if not in all respects in some respects at least, done better than the boys.

We are in the present day engaged in building up a new society in India where there will be hardly any difference between men and women; there will be no distinction of sex, caste or community. In this building up process women have to make their own contribution. Women are the symbol of peace and it is important that this institution, which was established and built up by Gurudev, who was a harbinger of peace and internationalism, should keep up its old, high and noble traditions. I am sure that in the building up process of India and the new Indian society you will be participating in that great venture with courage and determination.

8. AN ABODE OF PEACE

THE VERY THOUGHT of coming to Santiniketan brings joy to the mind. It is as if one is coming to sit once again at the feet of Gurudev who brought it into being. As he has himself so beautifully said, in the founding of Santiniketan he started "to write a poem in a medium not of words." And so my delight and joy at finding myself in your midst in this 'Abode of Peace' is more than I can express.

And yet my delight is tempered with a sense of humility when I look back at the galaxy of great souls who adorned the post of Acharya at Visva-Bharati—Gurudev himself, Shriyut Abanindranath Tagore, Sarojini Devi and lastly Jawaharlalji. One and all of them are great names in the realm of art and literature, while I have no pretensions to any-

Top: Speech at the opening of the new girls' hostel at Visva-Bharati on December 22, 1964

Bottom: Address at the convocation of Visva-Bharati on December 23, 1964

thing pertaining to art and the artistic. However, I am myself a 'Snatak' of the Kashi Vidyapeeth which was set up in contrast to the schools then existing, as an expression of the national movement in the field of education. As a one-time rebel against conventional education, therefore, I am very much with you in spirit. Like my own Kashi Vidyapeeth, I see Visva-Bharati as a temple of learning, breaking away from the strait-laced education of the day, and seeking to reach out into the higher realms of knowledge by first developing the human personality and soul. To be the Acharya of Visva-Bharati is an honour I value no less than being the Prime Minister of India, and as long as it is given to me to serve this country I shall strive to see that this institution lives and progresses towards the fulfilment of Rabindranath's dreams.

Standing in your midst today, I have to keep reminding myself where I am. So different is this from what one comes to associate with a usual university convocation of which I have attended so many. Here in this Amarkunj one feels that about which the Poet wrote, "the eternal companionship which the great brotherhood of trees have ever offered to man". Listening to the age-old invocations which used to ring out in our *ashrams* thousands of years ago one is inspired by the richness of our heritage, so sublime and so profound. One feels a sense of relief from the trials and travails and tribulations of the times, of which I have more than an adequate share. And so it is that I come to you not as the Acharya of Visva-Bharati but as a pilgrim in search of peace and fulfilment.

I wonder about you who live and move daily in these sylvan surroundings—how great is your privilege, how precious your heritage. For while the whole country is indebted to Gurudev, you are the direct inheritors of his ideals—the spiritual heirs through whom he sought the perpetuation of his dreams. The *tapovan*, the forest *ashram*, was the centre of the highest learning in ancient India and it was the atmosphere of the *tapovan* that Rabindranath sought to reproduce for you. He wished you "to live in intimate touch with Nature, daily to grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures, tending trees, feeding birds and animals, learning to feel the immense mystery of the soil and water and air". And because he felt that a knowledge of the arts was essential for the full development of the human soul, he sought to provide all this for you so that you could go from here in knowledge and in culture a fully integrated personality.

This brings me to the *guru-shishya* relationship prevailing in ancient times. The *shishya* lived as a member of the *guru*'s family and worked for him and there was a relationship of deep respect, even reverence, on one side and parental affection and solicitude on the other. Circumstances have changed and such a relationship is no longer possible. But things have swung to the other extreme, and the relationship between the teacher and the pupil seems to be limited to the roll-call. The close personal bond is no longer there : worse, there is no meeting of the minds at all. This is
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the price we are paying for the mass production of university students. We hear so much about student unrest, of student indiscipline, and there have been incidents which have pained and saddened us. The root cause for this indiscipline and unrest is the absence of any close link between the teacher and the taught. It is the teacher who can inspire and guide young people at this age and absence of respect for him only leaves a vacuum in the youthful mind which mischievous passions rush in to fill. Here in Visva-Bharati you are fewer in number, and the link between teacher and pupil is much closer than in most other universities. Let this ever remain one of the distinguishing characteristics of Visva-Bharati.

Simplicity of living was another feature of learning in the *tapovan*. I wish that our universities would try to come a little closer to the age-old ideal of simple living and high thinking. Here in Santiniketan, living in the lap of nature, you are specially favoured in being able to live up more easily to this high ideal of realising in Gurudev's words "our conscious relationship with the Infinite and the lasting power of the Eternal in the passing moments of our lives".

In these days when talks and discussions regarding the making of the nuclear bomb fill the air, I am particularly happy to have this opportunity of visiting Santiniketan. Santiniketan stands for all that we hold precious in Indian life and culture and tradition. The atom bomb is the very antithesis of all that Santiniketan stands for. It is not a weapon of war; it is an evil engine of mass destruction. The nations of the world regard it as such and yet they do not have the strength to outlaw it. And now because our neighbour China, in defiance of world opinion and sentiment, has exploded a nuclear device, there is a cry that we should abandon all that we have stood for, throw to the winds the culture and traditions of thousands of years and engage in this brutal race. No matter what the present pressures, we must not lose our peace of mind or steadfastness of purpose. And when that day dawns—as dawn it must—when all the nuclear bombs of the world find their proper resting place at the bottom of the deepest ocean, Santiniketan and all it stands for will still continue, for Santiniketan represents a spirit that is eternal.

It is in consonance with that spirit and in the fitness of things that in these days when there is so much bitterness against China in the public mind, Santiniketan should have a Cheena Bhavan where the study of the age-old culture of China continues undisturbed.

It is often said that morality has no place in the working of governments, and that decisions of governments cannot be based on purely moral considerations. To an extent this may be true. Count Cavour, one of the liberators of Italy, made the poignant remark that "if we did for ourselves what we do for our country, oh! what rascals we should be!!" But I would still proclaim that any government that turns its face away from considerations of morality and humanity will imperil world peace and

thereby betray all mankind. For us any such course should be unthinkable, and this cannot but be so in a country which Mahatma Gandhi led to freedom, and which proudly proclaims on its emblem the high ideal *satyameva jayate*.

For me Visva-Bharati has a special appeal because it seeks to draw inspiration from all that was great in our past and blend it harmoniously into the present. There is too much running after Western education on the part of our universities. To some extent this is typified by the ardour which we seek to cling to the English language. None would belittle the importance of the English language as a great vehicle of thought and culture, and as a great language of international understanding. But to seek to retain English for all time as the official language of our country seems to me a deeply humiliating proposition. To all those who seek to retain English for ever in our national life I would recall the powerful words of Gurudev: "Through this great deficiency of our modern education, we are condemned to carry to the end a dead load of dumb wisdom. Like miserable outcasts, we are deprived of our place in the festival of culture, and wait at the outer court, where the colours are not for us, nor the forms of delight, nor the songs."

One by one the great figures who filled the Indian scene are passing away leaving their memory and inspiration behind. It is now for the people as a whole to carry forward their work. Unity is the need of the hour, and it is here that our universities which are training the torchbearers of the future have so great a role to play. Institutions like Visva-Bharati, which cater not to any one part of the country but serve the nation as a whole, which seek to draw "seeds of thought from the granary of the past" and project them into the future must come forward to show the way. For you national integration is not a slogan; it is an accomplished fact.

Further, the role of Visva-Bharati far transcends the limited concept of national integration. Visva-Bharati as conceived by Rabindranath was universal and it embraced the whole world. Even while its inspiration and thought are essentially Indian, yet the cultures of other lands have blown freely through these whispering groves. So many distinguished sons of different countries have helped to build up this institution and make it what it is today. Even today, there are amongst you students of different countries, and Visva-Bharati continues to be a meeting ground of many cultures. Let us hope that this will always continue to be so, and that this precious legacy of Gurudev will one day be the standard-bearer of a world unified in thought and friendship.

9. ROLE OF SANSKRIT

VARANASI HAS A special place as a centre of culture and as a holy place of learning. The veterans of Sanskrit have glorified it by accepting it as the field of their work and labour. Sanskrit is an invaluable heritage of this country. It is the original source of much that is in our culture and civilisation.

In fact the history of Sanskrit language and literature is the history of the intellectual progress of this nation. The spirit of India manifested itself in this language and it became the mother, sister and nurse of several Indian languages. The glory of Sanskrit spread in foreign lands also. Several foreign scholars came to India to study Sanskrit books. Interest in Sanskrit learning increased among scholars in foreign countries. To-day there are special institutions for study and research in Sanskrit in countries like Germany, USA, USSR, France and Italy.

Sanskrit gave strong foundations to the social, cultural and spiritual life of this nation. From time to time there were changes and revolutions in the field of thought, but Sanskrit never ceased to be a link language. Even today, it has a special place in the cultural life of this nation, as most Indian languages still draw sustenance and strength from Sanskrit literature.

It is time that Sanskrit once again played an important part in the life of the nation as it has done before. Our duty does not end with praising the golden past. The past can be an inspiration only, and it is the present we have to live in.

It is remarkable that thousands of scholars worked for the development of Sanskrit without caring for any material gain. We are fortunate that many such scholars are still with us. We should not become lethargic in our service to Sanskrit. It would appear that in some fields foreigners have done more service to Sanskrit than Indians. A language can be enriched only by the labours of its followers, at home and abroad. Government protection and social stimulation are important but the history of Sanskrit proves that the best Sanskrit literature was independent of all this. Scholars worked for Sanskrit in a selfless spirit, only for the glory of the language. Hundreds of them were not even eager for fame. Many scholars did not even mention their names in their books and thousands of them cared little for money.

It is necessary today that research on the different aspects of Sanskrit should be done in a modern way. Sanskrit works should be translated in different foreign languages and the store of Sanskrit knowledge should be increased. More and more books should be written in Sanskrit on modern science and learning. The deep knowledge of Sanskrit which is being destroyed should be preserved. Simple, illustrated books, free from the bur-

den of grammar should be produced in Sanskrit. Only Sanskrit scholars can undertake this task.

By this I do not mean that the Government has no role in this. The Central Government and the State Governments know their responsibility. The Central Government has established the Sanskrit Commission and the Central Sanskrit Board and has done much for the development of Sanskrit by implementing their proposals, by establishing the Central Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Tirupati and by honouring Sanskrit scholars. The Government is giving assistance for developing the All India Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Delhi into an international Sanskrit institute and for expanding the Dr. Rajendra Prasad Central Sanskrit Library. Our State Governments too have paid attention to this after Independence. We are trying to give even more attention to the development of Sanskrit.

10. TO ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

DURING THE BRITISH days, we depended on imports of almost each and every thing. Even pins and needles we could not manufacture in our country and we imported them from abroad. But since we got our Independence we have made earnest efforts not only to make these smaller things here but to build up heavy industries in our country. We are at the present moment making so many things—cars, locomotives, aircraft, heavy engineering goods, heavy electrical goods and, of course, other basic materials.

During the last 15 years the progress in this direction has been phenomenal. Our approach naturally is to make our country as self-sufficient as possible. I don't say or mean to suggest that we can prevent imports altogether. It would not be possible. In the world of today we have to be inter-dependent. We have to seek the cooperation of other countries in building up new ideas and new techniques. So science, in fact, is not something which could be called national; it is really international. It needs the cooperation and coordination of the whole world. However, it is important that our engineers should base their researches as far as possible on indigenous raw materials. We must utilise our indigenous resources. If we can do that, then we could produce cheaper goods, economical goods. We have enormous difficulties of foreign exchange in our country. Our problem at the present moment has become still more difficult. How are we to get it ultimately?

Of course, in a developing state we have to depend on foreign loans

and aids. But ultimately we have to find our foreign exchange resources through our exports. Unless we can produce goods of quality and goods which would compete with other goods in the world market in prices we will not be able to step up our exports. Therefore, our scientists, our engineers have to develop techniques which would give us best quality goods as well as make them cheaper and economical.

I would urge our young engineers and scientists to look to this aspect of the problem and try to achieve what I have just now suggested in the best manner possible. If we want to develop our industries and especially our engineering projects, whether it is electrical or mechanical or metallurgical, we must have the necessary technical personnel for them. We are short of engineers and greater the development, the greater would be the need for training young men and women. At present we have decided to open a large number of engineering colleges dealing with different subjects of engineering. Here in Kerala also you will have three new engineering colleges. And I am glad to say that already there has been a good deal of expansion and the number of admissions to these colleges has gone up considerably. Whereas in the First Plan the admissions were to the tune of about 5,000, the figure this year will go up to 25,000.

Science and technology are the most important developments of this century. They have done a lot to change the face of this world. However, if science does not lead to peace it would mean a great disaster for us. Science has developed and should develop with a view to helping the people to find a better life, a happier life, a more peaceful life. And if science, as I said, leads to the making of nuclear bombs or atom bombs the very purpose and objectives of science would come to naught. With the help of science we have to obliterate the differences which exist between one community and the other and between one country and the other. The world could not remain divided into a developed area and an undeveloped area, or a few countries highly developed and other countries still in a developing stage. This gulf, this difference, has to be wiped out and science could be of immense help in this direction.

We do not want to enter into the race of making atom bombs for the destruction of humanity. It is, therefore, important that all the scientists, all technicians and engineers should raise their voice against the use of science for destructive purposes. It is important that the world fully realises the gravity of the situation. Any kind of further proliferation of nuclear weapons would lead to a serious situation. I have every hope that the engineers and the scientists of India do whole-heartedly endorse this approach.

11. UNITY OF ALL KNOWLEDGE

I AM PARTICULARLY happy to receive this distinction from a university which is moving away from convention and tradition and breaking new ground in the field of education. I myself am a graduate of a rebel institution, the Kashi Vidyapeeth, which was founded at the height of our freedom struggle to provide education to students who had come out of their schools and colleges at the call of the national movement. It is only natural, therefore, that I find myself in sympathy with those who seek new ways and are prepared to tread new paths to spread learning amongst all who aspire for it.

Standing in your midst in these academic robes to receive this high honour, I keep wondering how much I really deserve it. But I know that you have primarily wanted to honour the first servant of the Indian people which I have the great privilege to be. I know also that the people of India would not miss the significance of this gesture by the University of Sussex.

At this proud moment I cannot help but look back to the hard struggle that fell to my lot before I received my first degree. Those of us who grew up during the tempests of the Gandhian Era in our land had a very interrupted student life. We were at school when Mahatma Gandhi's call to leave our classes and join the freedom movement reached us. For those of us who responded it was a chequered student life afterwards, teaching ourselves in our prison cells, getting whatever formal education we could during the lull periods in the struggle. Even the university which I attended was a child of the Gandhian movement, whose fortunes fluctuated with its ups and downs. At the height of the struggle, both students and staff would find themselves in prison. During the quieter periods, we would come out and resume the broken threads of our studies. It was an education in which ideas and actions were closely intermingled and we learnt not only from books but from the hard facts of life.

Your university is one of the youngest and most significant in this country and it is the product of the great ferment of educational ideas in post-war Britain. From what I have been able to see of it, there is a refreshing originality and a spirit of innovation in everything about it. It is interesting to see how you have emphasised the unity of all knowledge and how your courses are designed to develop a rich and full personality in all your students to face the challenges of a technological age. We shall watch the results of these innovations with interest.

I am also very much fascinated by the multi-disciplinary courses of your schools of studies divided into various cultural regions of the world. In particular, I look forward to the success of the School of

African and Asian Studies. Britain has been the traditional home of Oriental and African scholarship, but in the past this scholarship flourished in a different context based on Britain's dominion over many nations of Asia and Africa. Now the whole environment has changed. The fact that the School of African Studies in this university has taken up studies in a different context where the relationship is one between free nations is bound to make tremendous difference in its outlook. This school is bound to promote an increasing understanding between Britain and the new nations of Asia and Africa.

I wonder whether it is under consideration to bring professors from different countries of Asia and Africa to work on the staff of this university for a period of years. Such a step will help to promote even closer understanding at first hand.

I look forward to a continuously closer relationship between the universities of Britain and the universities of my own country. We inherited the university pattern of this country and there are already many links of scholarship between British and Indian universities. It is good to learn that British and Indian universities are already moving to implement the decisions of the Commonwealth Education Conference at Ottawa last year for intensification of contacts between the universities in the Commonwealth. In India, we have designated a large number of university departments as centres of advanced research in a wide range of disciplines. These are being linked in a special relationship with university departments in this country. The British Council and the U.K. Ministry for Overseas Development are rendering valuable help in this field. These links of scholarship would be another great bond for bringing our two peoples together. I should like to see one of your schools in the University of Sussex linked up with a university department in India. This would be a positive outcome of the symbolic link you have established with my country by conferring this privilege on me.

I am happy indeed to have had this opportunity of seeing the smiling southern coast of England and of associating myself with this new and daring university. The honour you have done me today flows from that wide perspective and idealism which is so much a part of your organisation of studies and I shall cherish it in the years to come.

CHAPTER VIII

MASS MEDIA

1. ROLE OF THE PRESS

IT IS A happy day for the *Pioneer*. It has attained one hundred years of age. The *Pioneer* reminds us of our past history, at least of the period during which we fought for our freedom. It is true that the *Pioneer* was not very kind to us during those days and if Mr. Ghosh had asked me to attend some function of the *Pioneer* at that time, I would not have come near the *Pioneer* Press.

But things have completely changed. A revolution has taken place. In the present day, at least in the present context of the many difficulties we have to encounter, the responsibility of the newspapers is very great. Government have their failings, we make mistakes and yet we are functioning in a democracy and we are responsible to the people. They can keep us there; they can remove us from our seat of power the moment they think it is essential. In that context the newspapers should also consider as to what role they have to play. They naturally play a very important role, specially in a democratic set-up. In a different set-up things might be entirely different.

I have no objection to the press launching the strongest possible criticisms of the failings of the Government and of our mistakes. But during this period, a period of transition and in a country which is backward, which is undeveloped, where we cannot even meet the barest needs of our people, it becomes essential that those who mould public opinion should also be as careful and as understanding as possible. I know that the editors will say that I am not telling them anything new. I do not propose to do

so, and who can educate the editors ? They educate the Government and they also try to educate the people as a whole. For a proper education of the people as well as of the Government, they must exercise some kind of restraints; they must strike a balance between excessive, unreasonable criticism and reasonable and just criticism. I say so not because I want to avoid criticisms but because I want that a wholesome public opinion should be built in this country. In that regard the most important part can be played by our newspapers.

I know *Pioneer* will continue to criticise the Government as it has been doing so far. Sometimes the comments of Mr. Ghosh are kind, but generally the paper is critical and that it could not be otherwise, I hope, with all apologies to Shri Sita Ram Jaipuria, if he heads the show. I can understand the senior Jaipuria conducting the work of this press but the younger Jaipuria, you can find him on the opposition benches in the Rajya Sabha and without any rhyme or reason he is making critical speeches and putting all kinds of questions and supplementaries. I have known Mr. Ghosh for the last thirtyfive years and it has been a pleasure to meet and talk to him. He is, as I said, a very strong critic and has got a strong pen. Yet he is so humble. There is so much humility in him that it is a pleasure to meet and talk to him. He has built up the *Pioneer* over the years. I wish the *Pioneer* all success and all prosperity.

2. REBUTTING PAKISTAN'S PROPAGANDA

YOU ALL KNOW that there has been a serious development on the Sind-Kutch border and it is a matter of the greatest concern to us. I know how all of you must be feeling about it and we have declared that we cannot part even with an inch of our territory. We must preserve the integrity of India and do whatever is possible to achieve it.

It is highly regrettable that Pakistan should have been carrying on propaganda that it was India who was the aggressor. Sometimes people ask us : Well, how is it that their propaganda is a bit more effective than ours? But the difficulty is that if you have to make wrong statements, false propaganda naturally sometimes becomes more effective. Our difficulty is that we do not want to indulge in this. We do not want to resort to false propaganda and therefore it might perhaps sometimes appear that we are not as effective as they are. Yet we have to restrict ourselves, we have to confine ourselves to the truth. We cannot say things which

are entirely incorrect. But we have made it absolutely clear that this aggression has been entirely from Pakistan's side and this has been so in spite of our efforts that officers of the two countries meet and discuss the question of the boundary line on that border. There was never any response from Pakistan. Even in October last, we wrote to them that we should meet and have a discussion in terms of the agreement which was arrived at between Sardar Swaran Singh and General Sheikh of Pakistan in 1960. To that, as I said, there has been no satisfactory reply, practically no response at all and today we are faced with an open aggression. We did feel that if this clash was not converted into a major conflict, it might be good because any kind of major conflict or war has tremendous repercussions. Therefore, when a cease-fire was suggested by the British Prime Minister, we felt that we would not object to it. We have conveyed our reaction, but, I made it clear that the *status quo ante* must be established at the same time. We can consider other matters only then. I have made the position quite clear in my statements in Parliament and I have no doubt that if Pakistan agrees to it, it would be in the best interests of Pakistan. If they do not, then we know what we have to do and we will discharge our responsibilities to the fullest extent and in the best manner possible.

You have to explain to the people this conflict, what our approach is, what wrongs Pakistan has committed and you have also to enthuse the people and to prepare them to meet any situation that emerges. Naturally we have to lay the utmost stress on increased production, whether it is in the agricultural field or in the industrial field. We have to tell the people that although we have sufficient stocks of food at the present moment, there should be restricted consumption, as little as possible. We may have to publicise many other things in connection with this conflict. The role which the Publicity Departments or the Information Departments of the States have to play in the present situation is, therefore, really exceedingly important and they will have to function as efficiently and as effectively as possible. If Pakistan does not agree to these proposals and the conflict escalates, a situation would arise in which the whole nation will have to rise as one man. For that there has to be necessary discipline amongst us as it is only a disciplined nation which can meet the present challenge. I am sure you will do your best to inculcate these feelings in the people and make every effort possible to prepare the country to fight the menace.

3. RESPONSIBILITIES OF A FREE PRESS

I AM HAPPY to participate in your silver jubilee function. You are only 25 years of age and I do not think that unless you reach half a century you deserve much appreciation from us, because in the game of cricket if one gets 50 runs, he gets credit for it but when he gets a century, there is all the appreciation for him.

You have mentioned about our intelligence. Well, to me it seems that many of you could as well have been employed in our intelligence department. You are much more resourceful. There is hardly anything which you are not able to know or cannot manage to know. But I can assure you that we do not generally employ our intelligence for finding out who is responsible for the scoop or who is responsible for publishing a particular news item. However, it is not bad in some respects.

I would like you also to be sometimes kind to us. Today, the uppermost thing in our minds is naturally the conflict on the Kutch-Sind border. Pakistan has been repeating that India had committed aggression. I am sometimes surprised that some of the foreign newspapers have also been somewhat impressed by it. I need not say that this whole propaganda is absolutely wrong and wholly unfair and unjust. Even a man with a little intelligence should be able to understand the fact that if we were to commit aggression at all we would not have chosen this place, the Rann of Kutch, because it is a terrain which is not quite to our advantage. On the face of it, this kind of propaganda seems to be quite absurd.

It is also said in some foreign newspapers that there is some kind of a war hysteria in India. There has been aggression on our territory and naturally we will feel upset. So it is surprising that we should be accused of protesting too much or speaking too much about it. Foreign correspondents and newspapers must realise that we have a democracy in this country, we have a Parliament, we have the legislatures. It is not so in Pakistan, nor in China. We discuss matters publicly in our legislatures. Whatever is said in Parliament or in the legislatures does get publicity. We have freedom of expression, freedom of speech, of writing. I must say with all these our people have shown great patience.

We have also been accused of creating difficulties in the way of bringing about some kind of agreement, because of the attitude regarding the restoration of *status quo ante*. Your responsibility is indeed great in the present context. And I must say that on the whole the comments in our papers have been very satisfactory. Sometimes you might have been a little more critical and perhaps at other times avoided publication of certain other things. Yet, it is not desirable for the Government to impose any

restrictions. When you exercise your own discretion you must keep the national interest above everything else. Thus you can help the people as well as the Government in building up the necessary public opinion subject to certain restraints. It is better to create an image of unity in this country.

CHAPTER IX

A NATION IN TRANSITION

1. THE COMMON MAN

THIS IS AN age of great revolutions, both political and economic. During the last 16 years, a large number of countries, big and small, both in Africa and Asia, have achieved their independence. It was inconceivable two decades ago. I was happy to see in Cairo, where I went to attend the Non-aligned Nations' Conference, the confidence which even the smallest of these countries have developed. Political freedom must have the content of economic freedom. If the people have to live a life of misery, political independence does not have much sense.

Our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, decided that we will have the pattern of planning, the Five Year Plans, under which our biggest objective would be to increase our production, both in agricultural and industrial fields. We are now preparing our Fourth Plan. Our biggest problem at the present moment is to produce more. I want every farmer to produce more than what he had done before. But it is also equally important that what he produces, he should be able to sell at a reasonable and a remunerative price. That is why the Government of India has for the first time fixed the producers' prices for rice as well as wheat. It is essential to build up a reserve so that we can face any emergency. We will have to make this effort continuously over the next three to four years.

The Government of India have also decided in agreement with the State Governments that the prices of the wholesaler and the retailer should also be fixed. We don't want to leave the consumer at the mercy of

profiteers and those who want to exploit a difficult situation. You might be aware that I recently made a statement in the National Development Council that those who defy the orders or rules or regulations issued by the Government in this regard will have to suffer considerably. I have suggested that there should be summary trial of the defaulter and I hope that without waiting for the next session of Parliament the Government of India might issue some ordinance in regard to this matter. Government wants to take firm action, as I said, against those defaulters on account of whom the country has suffered a good deal. I am not one of those who desire to be harsh to the people, but when the sense of duty and responsibility demands that some action should be taken in the general interest, I have no alternative but to be firm and effective. If the middle class people, the workers, and the landless labourers, get cereals and foodgrains at fixed and reasonable prices, I have no doubt that they will get much relief even in the present context of rising prices.

Both agriculture and industrial development are essential for raising the standard of our people. But industrial development is not possible unless we have enough of technical personnel available. It is, therefore, essential that we should open more technical schools and colleges. The art colleges could wait. The real strength in a democracy is not the law. What is most important for a democracy to succeed is that the Government should have the sanction, the full cooperation and support of the people. I must compliment our people. They are patient people, they have borne a lot. We want peace in Asia because Asian countries have yet to develop economically. I would also like that Asians should not fight Asians themselves. If we do so, the countries concerned will terribly suffer.

Although we are passing through a difficult period in India, we are determined to go ahead and see that the common man gets the basic necessities of life. Our biggest concern is for the common man, for the common people. I can assure you that we will do our utmost to help and give necessary relief to the poorer and weaker sections of our community.

2. PORT ENGINEERS' CADRE

MADRAS IS A developing State. It is one of those States in our country which have made most valuable contributions in the development of the economy of our country during the last 16 years. I extend my hearty congratulations to the Government of Madras and to the people

Speech at the inauguration of the Tuticorin Harbour on November 5, 1964

of this State for their great achievements during this short period.

At the present moment two major ports will be under construction in the South: one in Mangalore and the other now in Tuticorin. I am glad to know that all the work of this port, its designing, etc., has been done by our own engineers. As we have made great progress in mechanical, civil and electrical engineering, we should also have a first rate cadre of port engineers. I might suggest that retired engineers who have worked in major ports can pool their resources and set up an efficient port consultancy bureau.

I don't want to take more of your time but there is just one thing I want to mention. It is about the Pamban Bridge. As you know there is only one bridge, the railway bridge, at the present moment for going to Rameshwaram. Rameshwaram is a great centre of pilgrimage. People from every part of the country go there in thousands. It is very inconvenient for the people to go there without a road bridge. It should cost less than a crore of rupees but it is worthwhile doing this job.

3. GRAPPLING WITH PROBLEMS

I HAVE BEEN in Andhra Pradesh for the last three days. It is said that any visit or tour of this State is not complete until you have visited Tirupati. I have, therefore, come here and will go to the top of the Hill to have *darshan* of Lord Venkateswara before returning to Delhi tomorrow morning. This temple in Tirupati is known throughout the country. But there is a special feature about this temple. Every pie of it is being spent for public purposes. How I wish that we could ensure the same kind of administration of our temples in other parts of India. I have just now opened the women's hostel and I am told that all the money for the hostel has been found from the temple funds. Tirupati has set a great example before it and I hope it would be adopted in other parts of India.

We have been discussing during the last three days some of our national and international problems. The most important problem before us at the present moment is supply of enough foodgrains to our people. The second thing is the rising prices. I know that your State, Andhra Pradesh, is surplus in foodgrains. You produce enough of paddy but your Chief Minister and Food Minister, Sri Balrama Reddiji, do not want to supply it to other States. They want to give you more money.



With King Mahendra of Nepal



With Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon

With Gen Ne Win of Burma



*With President
Bourguiba of Tunisia*



*With President Nkrumah
of Ghana*



*With Prime Minister,
Dr. Milton Obote,
of Uganda*





With U Thant in New Delhi

as much as they can. It is good that they do so, but the farmers have to realise the fact that they are responsible for feeding the whole country. The country should not be divided into compartments. Wherever there is surplus, it should be sent out either to the neighbouring State or to other States wherever the Centre so directs. I do hope that we will tackle the problem of food on a national basis.

The new crops have started coming into the market and the crops, specially the paddy crops, are very good not only in Andhra Pradesh but in the rest of the country. In the circumstances the consumer, the common man, the poorer section should not be inflicted with high prices of foodgrains. The prices, therefore, will have to be strictly regulated so that the consumer does not suffer.

It is the desire of the Government of India that besides foodgrains we should also fix prices for some other basic necessities of life. Some of those items could be cloth, sugar, if possible, cement, vegetable oil, salt, kerosene oil, etc. We have to, if we can, supply these items to our people at regulated and reasonable prices. I have no doubt that it would give great and immense relief to the people as a whole. We can do it if there is proper regulation and control, if the administration is efficient and effective. I do hope that the administration, the district authorities, the officers of different departments working in the rural areas will respond and try to serve the people in the best spirit, in a spirit of sympathy and understanding.

I know that it is very warm and hot and it would not be desirable for me to continue my speech. I shall deal with one or two other matters. I want this State of Andhra Pradesh to grow and prosper. It has the potentiality of an area like Ruhr. But the point is whether you will all stand united and go ahead on the journey of progress and development. There should be an emotional integration and we should not in any way drift apart on the basis of communalism, linguism or provincialism. If there is unity amongst us, in our ranks, if there are no communal differences, if we do not fight on other narrow issues, I have no doubt we can face our biggest opponents in the world.

You need not be afraid of the Chinese explosion or of any other country which casts an evil eye on us. The army is there to protect our frontiers, but you have to remain behind it united. We should be economically better off. These things will be the biggest sanction and support of the army.

Under the very nose of Lord Venkateswara how can you think in terms of castes and communities ? Why should there be any kind of conflict, for example, between Reddis and Khammas ? We are all brothers. Sometimes we adopt such an antagonistic and hostile attitude as if two warring groups were fighting against each other. Here stands the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Brahmanandji. He is a Reddi, but he has

been elected from a constituency in which, I am told, 70 per cent of the voters are Khammas. The people are sound, they do not want to think in terms of castes and communities. I, therefore, have no doubt that given the proper lead, the people will only think in national terms. They will stand as one united people to serve their nation and their countrymen.

4. INDIA'S PEACEFUL TRANSITION

I KNOW THAT in Trivandrum you have got a beautiful city—neat, clean and healthy. It is in fact a city of gardens and in a way this must have reduced the burden of your responsibilities in so far as sanitation and hygiene are concerned. I would not like to suggest anything special, but I do not know if there is a scheme of good and pure supply of milk either on behalf of the Corporation or the Government. Trivandrum, as the capital city of this State, should also try to put up a modern dairy. It has its own advantages; on the one hand, it helps the farmers and the cultivators who supply milk, on the other, you also benefit by it. The UNICEF has provided funds for about 14 such dairies and I do hope that you will also be able to have one in your city.

Outside India there was a good deal of doubt in the minds of the people as to what would happen after Panditji's departure and they were anxious. However, the election took place and there was unanimity in the party which naturally created its own impact throughout the country as well as in the outside world. Democracy is something which has found its footing here in India in a much stronger way than in our neighbouring countries, Asian countries, and also if I might say so, African countries. Generally when there is a transition there are disturbances, conflicts and clashes. It is generally not possible to keep the country peaceful. Luckily for us, we had great leaders in Gandhiji, in Jawaharlalji, who during the freedom struggle stuck to certain principles and fundamentals. What Gandhiji did was something unique in the history of the world. We were taught peace and non-violence. For peace and non-violence democracy is the only natural pattern which could be adopted. In this respect we are looked upon as a great country with high traditions. I do hope that we will try to maintain them.

We have many difficulties; we have many problems to face. But then, we cannot get depressed or dejected or disheartened. We have to overcome those difficulties through peaceful means. There may be

opposition, there may be criticisms, even severe criticisms. I would certainly welcome all this. In a democracy, there has to be freedom of speech. But we have to be very careful about actions which would lead to disturbance, which would endanger peace. Therefore, we have to, as far as possible, adopt constitutional methods. We have Parliament, we have Legislative Assemblies. Every party or almost every party is represented in these legislatures and in Parliament. There is absolute freedom of expression of views. In Parliament and legislatures the principle of majority has to be accepted. So once this principle has been agreed to, there is hardly much chance for agitations leading to defiance of law and authority. If democracy has to continue in India, as it should, then we must be very careful and cautious in regard to the actions we take.

May I say that politics should be, as far as possible, avoided in a Corporation's working. Even if the elections are held on party tickets or different political parties participate in it, yet once they have entered the Corporation they should not indulge in party politics and thereby injure or damage the work of the Corporation. Your responsibility is an important one, that of providing necessary civic amenities—education, health, roads, lighting, water, etc. These are the real sources of happiness and good health. If Corporations indulge in groupism or party politics they will be deviating from the main responsibilities they are charged with. I do hope that the Trivandrum Corporation will perform its duty in a detached way and try in the best manner possible to serve the city and its people.

5. INDIAN DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

THIE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES in the States are the most important institutions as they represent the people of the States. We have adopted democracy in our country and it is with the help of democratic elections that these Assemblies are constituted. We have adult franchise and we adopted it soon after we attained our Independence. You all know that even in England, which is called the mother of democracy, adult franchise came very late. But here in India, immediately or soon after the attainment of Independence, we provided for adult franchise in our Constitution.

We have had three big general elections and the elections were extremely peaceful and devoid of any conflict or clashes. Our electorate has

been found to be very discriminating, very clever and very careful. And it is a compliment and a tribute to our countrymen that they have entered into the spirit of democracy.

You remember what happened after the sad demise of our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was one of the biggest shocks the country could have received and it was not an easy matter to select his successor. Of course, there can be no comparison between him and me; he was a giant among men and he was not only a figure of great repute nationally but even in the international sphere he was one of the topmost leaders of the world.

Yet, the work had to be carried on and there could be no vacuum and the election, or if I might say so, my election, took place. It was so quiet and so smooth and was accomplished completely democratically. The party in power sat down and chose the leader unanimously. It was something unique which had its own impact not only on the people of India but on the whole world. Various countries were watching as to what would happen in India after the demise of the great leader. There were comments that there would be conflict or there might be some kind of civil war or there might be disorder. All these things were commented upon in foreign Press. Yet this thing passed off very peacefully and, as I said, it did create a tremendous impact on the people, on our people as well as on the people of different countries of the world. It shows that the spirit of democracy has permeated into our bones; it has gone deep into our minds and it is something which is unique.

I do not want to name the countries, but generally you will not find around you a democratic pattern functioning. There is no election as such, far from an election based on adult franchise.

We stand for the freedom of man, we stand for freedom of speech; we stand for freedom of writing, and thus create a sense of importance of the individual. Individual and his importance in a democracy are very great and, therefore, as I have said, he has every right to express his views, to write out his opinions and even demonstrate it, if he so likes.

In the Assembly, in the Legislature, there is complete freedom. In fact you can say anything you like and you are immune from any kind of action. So this is a further extension of the same principle. It would thus be seen that we value democracy and democratic principles and it is something which is of the greatest value.

In the world of today, if we want to have peace, I think that the principle of democracy is a matter of great and urgent importance. I do not mean to say that those who do not adopt this pattern do not want peace. But this principle, this pattern creates an atmosphere in which you cannot easily wage a major conflict or war, or some kind of clash. You cannot create it because there are so many levels to be considered. Essentially a democratic country will search all avenues to tackle a problem with peace

rather than immediately go to war or create some kind of a situation in which a conflict would occur.

So it is important that India should preserve this pattern and, to my mind, one of the reasons of the conflict between China and India is that we are a democratic country. We have set up a new pattern altogether, whereas China has an entirely different pattern. It is this conflict of ideologies, this conflict of patterns of government which comes in the way of China coming closer to us. They feel that here is a country which sets up patterns altogether different to other countries, Asian countries and African countries and Arab countries, whereas China wants them to go her way. Well, it is natural, therefore, that this clash between India and China should continue. But we cannot give up the principles, the basic policies on which we stand today and on the basis on which our Constitution is framed.

I do not want to say more on this matter but I do feel that India fully realises the importance of the fundamental principles we have adopted and it is most essential that the Members of the Legislature should pay special attention to it, and try to educate our people. They should also behave themselves in a way in which no one can point out a finger that we are acting against our basic principles or our basic pattern of democracy. I am glad to know that the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly is a very peaceful and dignified Assembly. Well, it is endorsed by the fact that the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are both here. I am indeed happy that it should be so, because somehow our experience in some other places is not so good. It is important that the decorum of the House should be fully maintained and it is we, the Members of the Legislature, who set an example to others outside in the country.

I know that we have many problems to face—internal as well as external. I would not like to go into them. However, the most important thing for us at the present moment is the economic development of our country. We have our Third Five Year Plan; it would be ending in a year's time. I do hope that the fifth and the last year of the Plan would be the best. It would have the highest production as compared to any year during the last 10 to 12 years. It would also lead to greater national income, national wealth, as well as a higher increase in per capita income. We have been laying great stress on increased production. We have also been telling our administration to move quickly, to act faster than they have done before. We have been watching the progress of different projects during these months. As a cumulative effect of all this, and of our persistent efforts in future, I hope we will be able to achieve greater production which is a matter of the highest importance for us.

We have also the problem of rising prices. It all depends on the production of goods in India and especially on increased production. Mostly, the price rise has been due to rise in prices of foodgrains. However, let

us hope that the downward tendency at the present moment in regard to the prices of foodgrains will continue and will create the necessary impact on the prices of other goods and commodities.

It is essential that in the course of the next one year, the last year of the Plan, we would do our utmost to bring about a change in the atmosphere of the country. It is wrong to think that we are going slow or there is some kind of a weakness. I have every hope that in this process of development, fullest consideration will be given to every State, and to my mind Andhra Pradesh is certainly one which deserves the most sympathetic consideration. It has great potentialities of development. It is going to be, if I might say so, one of the richest States of India, both in agriculture as well as in industry. And it is important that this State should be helped to the best possible extent so that it might get what is due to it. It should be in a position to help and assist the large population which inhabits this State to the fullest measure.

In the international field, we have been taking some interest and we have been pursuing the policy laid down by our late Prime Minister. We pursue the policy of non-alignment. We have the best of friendship with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We are also friendly with a large number of African and Asian countries. We want to remain friendly with each and every country, unless, of course, when some are definitely determined not to keep friendly relations with us.

Recently, there has been trouble on the Pakistan border, both in the East and in the North. We have made it quite clear that their statement that the area is occupied by us is absolutely incorrect. We have made it absolutely clear that we have no police or army there and still they persist in saying that we have occupied one particular village or the other. I do not know what their intentions are but I am glad that they have said that Chief Secretaries might meet although they have imposed certain conditions.

Well, certainly, we will try to deal with it as peacefully as possible. Our desire is that there should be peaceful co-existence and countries having different ideas and ideologies should be able to live together. We do not think that purely on the basis of ideology there should be conflict and clashes.

However, the world does not behave in the same way we would like it to behave. There are conflicts between Malaysia and Indonesia. There is trouble in South Vietnam. There is some problem in other Indochina countries. There is the question of Article 19 of the UN Charter on account of which the United Nations has not been able to function or deliberate on any serious matter. These are different things which are causing sincere anxiety to all those who love peace.

However, we have to make every effort and India has been trying to make its own contribution in not allowing the conflict to widen. As you know, recently we issued a statement on the South Vietnam situation and

it has been generally supported by almost all the countries.

However, peace and disarmament are most important and we have decided that we will not manufacture the atom bomb although the danger is very much there on our frontier but we cannot get unnerved because China has exploded one bomb or might explode another. It is a matter of grave importance that there should be no further proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear bombs.

So, it has been our endeavour to propagate, to publicise that nuclear bombs and nuclear weapons should not be further disseminated, nor should more countries go in for them. Let us hope that it will be possible to avoid this catastrophe of a nuclear war.

I must say that if we have to face these conflicts on our borders or if we have to face a threat, it is important that we should think of the country first and everything else afterwards. This link, this bond of unity has to be made stronger. If real democracy has to prevail in this country it can only do so on the basis of unity between the States and the best of the accord between the States and the Centre. I have every hope that your State will give the necessary lead and we will be able to march ahead on the path of progress with courage and determination.

6. BETTER HUMAN MATERIAL NEEDED

YOU HAVE SAID some good words about me. I do not know if you really know me and my qualities. There are many things which appear on the surface, but they are really not so in substance. If I look good and innocent to you, it should not mean that I am not a clever man, I would not say, a cunning man. Yet I can see things through. However, I do feel that for one who has to carry a heavy responsibility, what really matters is the faith of the people and I must say it has given me great encouragement to hear these words from you and to find that you have a soft corner for me and also you have the desire that I should be able to discharge my heavy responsibilities to the satisfaction of the people of India.

I know I am engaged in a very difficult job. We have tremendous problems to face. We have our internal problems as well as external. Internal, as you have just now said, are many economic problems, especial-

ly the rising prices and the food situation as it existed a few months or a couple of months before, and even today we are not completely out of the woods. I am somewhat satisfied to see that there is an improvement in the food situation. Foodgrains are available in the market and the prices have also shown a downward trend. It is in fact the foodgrains which are really the base of our economy. If there are adequate foodgrains in the country and prices of foodgrains are reasonable, then the prices of other commodities also are lower and should be lower. It is just the beginning. In so far as the foodgrains prices are concerned, I do hope that this trend will continue and there will be further reduction in prices. It would give some relief to your domestic problems and I hope that it will give relief to the people in general as a whole.

Our external problems are, as you have mentioned, a couple of our neighbours who, in a way, pose a threat to our country, to the peace and security of India. China is sitting on our heads and is making tremendous preparations. It talks of us as if we are behaving like a big brother, but the fact is otherwise. You will be surprised to know that they have enrolled about 20 millions of homeguards. And, of course, they have a very large army. It is not only the army; they have developed dangerous weapons and recently they exploded an atom bomb. They propose to explode another atom bomb and perhaps it might be done soon.

In this context it is regrettable that there are clashes and conflicts on the Pakistan-India border. There are firings going on for the last few days on one of our eastern borders. In other places also there has been an attempt on their part to usurp or try to occupy our territory. We have resisted it and resisted it successfully, but these things go to show that what we need in our country at the present moment, is on the one hand economic stability, economic progress, and on the other, a united India.

Certainly, economic progress has to be made and we are going ahead with it. But it has to go much faster. It has to be a quicker process and it can only be done provided there is an earnest and keen desire on the part of all of us concerned to do our job faithfully, efficiently and successfully; what really matters is what our young men desire to do. What is their motive ? What kind of character and behaviour they possess ? Our women are very much responsible for the training or shaping of our young men and women. It is the mother with whom the child comes into contact the most in the initial stages. What you tell or teach him and the example you set before him is important. The urge of patriotism is the most important and vital of things for a nation to grow. If you create that sense of patriotism in our young men and women and if you teach them their duty and sense of responsibility, then you have done half the job.

They come to the schools and colleges later on. There also it is very

important that the teachers should train up the boys in the best atmosphere possible. It is an equally important job for the teachers. It is not merely text books or the passing of the examinations. What kind of boys come out from the schools and colleges is an important matter. Well, they should read, they should pass their examinations, they should qualify themselves; but what kind of character they possess ? There has to be a happy combination of passing the examinations, of qualifying and also of an integrated personality, a man with ability, with character and with education—these are important things. So I said, the teachers are also equally responsible but much before that and even during the period when they study in schools and colleges it is the atmosphere of the family, the home which leaves a permanent impact on the minds of the children.

Our plans are sound, our policies are correct, our programmes are practical, but the important point is how they are implemented. Therefore, the question of human material comes up. I would, therefore, like to lay stress on the fact that we the people of India must pay special attention to our human material and try to build up an image in which the country will be able to get the best men possible; and even if they are not the best, we can or we should try to utilise their talents to the best of their capacity.

Women have taken an important part, a glorious part, in the freedom struggle. We know what kind of revolution Gandhiji created in the year 1929-30, and he entrusted the work of picketing of foreign cloth shops entirely to the women. I remember my own State, where there was considerable purdah. In Bihar, women were sealed in purdah. Hundreds and thousands of women came out, they went out in processions, they picketed the foreign cloth shops, even liquor shops. They had to bear lathi charges, they were put in jail and hundreds and thousands of women offered themselves most willingly for imprisonment. So your contribution has been very great in the past and because of it we are free today.

I am glad to note that there are so many women's organisations in Hyderabad. But, if I suggest, you should also pay attention to the rural areas. There is plenty to do amongst rural women, whether it is education, literacy, sanitation or a small handicraft work or providing them with some other occupation—there are many things to be done. I do hope your organisations will pay attention to the women living in the rural areas.

Even if you have sometimes to go there and stay there for a few days, it would do you good and, of course, to them also. We should know our villages because real India lives there.

You have said in your address that Hyderabad should be made the second capital of India. Well, it seems you want to rob the charm of Delhi and perhaps make it or give it more or less a secondary place. Even if Hyderabad is not a *de facto* capital, it is one of the most well known and loved cities of India. It is no doubt, as you have said, a

cementing link between the north and the south. It has been so for the last so many years and it will continue to be so. But I would beg of you to visit Delhi frequently and not suggest that Delhi should come over to Hyderabad. We do come here very often and we do want Hyderabad to grow and prosper.

7. PUBLIC HEALTH : A STATE OBLIGATION

SHUDDHA AYURVEDA SHOULD not be completely neglected. If vaidyas feel that they would like to develop the system in the old way, they should have the freedom to do so. Whatever new they want to add to it, they should be allowed to add. They should have an opportunity to function without much interference. Their progress can be watched for five or ten years and the position reviewed thereafter. As far as I can see the Ayurveda and Hikmat systems had some special features. They had good medicines for some of the diseases. It was not advisable to discourage the indigenous systems of medicine which had lived all these years.

I do not want to adopt a dogmatic attitude on any matter as far as possible. We have to be liberal and open-minded in our approach, either in the field of medicine or in the political or other fields. What is required is the provision of medical facilities to the people. Naturally allopathy was considered the most scientific and the best system in the world. It will, therefore, expand and receive the highest priority. However, it will take a long time to open allopathic dispensaries and hospitals throughout the country. What people need is immediate relief. Homocopathy could also be employed to give relief to people. It was not a question of rivalry between different systems of medicine. What Government has in mind is relief to the people.

I know my views will be unpopular among experts but I knew that the State Governments are interested in developing the indigenous systems. They are trying to help these systems.

Sustained efforts should be made to extend medical facilities to rural areas where the biggest percentage of India's population lives. It is highly important that we think of villages more and more. Undoubtedly, there would be more hospitals in cities where the population was growing but we cannot afford to ignore the villages. There should be at least one hospital in a rural area in each district. Where electricity is available, this should present no difficulty. In each State there should also be at least one medical college in

the rural areas. The functioning of medical colleges in rural areas would help improve the atmosphere. It should be made a condition for admission to medical colleges that students trained there would have to work in rural areas for a prescribed period of at least ten years. Government finds it difficult to get doctors for rural areas. The Health Ministry has formulated schemes to provide incentives to those who would work in rural areas. It should be ensured that these schemes are implemented so that hospitals and dispensaries in rural areas do not suffer for want of doctors, nurses and compounders. Doctors who function in rural areas do not get the requisite amenities. They have to be compensated. But doctors should also realise that they have to function in a wider context. Unless conditions in rural areas are improved, there can be no real progress. Doctors have to be imbued with a higher sense of duty. They have to realise that it is their duty to relieve the sufferings of the people. They should be able to face personal difficulties in the noble task of relieving the sufferings of others. I hope that the Centre and the States will give thought to this matter.

The country has made considerable progress in the field of health in which the common men, the poorer sections of society, are vitally concerned. The result of the progress can be seen from the fact that the average expectancy of life has increased from 30 years in 1940 to 49 years now. The rate of mortality has dropped from 27.4 per thousand to 16.3 per thousand. The number of medical colleges has increased from 25 to 83. About 800 public health centres have been established in development blocks. It is regrettable that all the centres do not have doctors. It must however, be admitted that constant efforts are to be made to make up the leeway. There is, however, a great demand for the opening of new hospitals. It is not possible to provide trained personnel everywhere.

It is necessary that more and more attention is paid to sanitation and drinking water facilities. Sanitation and potable drinking water are in a way preventive medicines. The Congress election manifesto of 1962 stated that every effort should be made to provide drinking water in areas where there were no wells. Considerable progress has been made but we are still far behind the target. Concentrated efforts need to be made in the next one and a half years to provide drinking water facilities in towns and villages which do not possess them. There is need to improve the conservancy system. Delhi is an example of what they have not been able to do. Delhi suffers from shortage of water every year. It is also said that the water is unhealthy. There could be an explanation for it but no explanation would do. The real point is that we have to remove these difficulties whatever the impediments. If stand-by arrangements are considered necessary, these should be made and things improved. Even long-term arrangements could be put through as early as possible.

In some States, public health is a separate department. There is need

to integrate it with the medical department. The two departments should be under the control of the same Ministry. That would expedite things as the two subjects are interdependent.

The question of giving medical relief is not a favour shown by the Government to the people. It is one of Government's social objectives, like the provision of food, shelter, clothing, etc.

The country is at present faced with a difficult foreign exchange situation. I would, therefore, suggest that in the field of medicine, we depend less and less on imports. It should be possible to manufacture medicines in the country. The research laboratories have to be alert and active. It should be possible to fix a production target with a view to reducing imports to a sizable extent.

8. SOCIAL SECURITY ON MASS SCALE

IT IS A matter of great satisfaction for us that the second session of the Asian and Oceanic Conference of the International Social Security Association is being held in India. Such a session is being held in our country for the first time and we deem it an honour. I would like to extend a hearty welcome to all the delegates who have come from different countries to participate in the conference. That the representatives of different countries should meet to discuss the problem of social security clearly indicates the importance attached to man and his welfare.

India is one of those countries which have not been able to do much towards the institution of social security measures, the reason being prolonged subjugation. This has been the fate of almost all those countries in Asia which were under colonial rule until very recently.

The primary occupation of a colonial power is the maintenance of law and order. Programmes for promoting the good of the common man do not find a place in its scheme of things. Even such basic essentials as education, medical aid, housing and sanitation are practically non-existent or are woefully inadequate. This is generally the condition in which a subject country finds itself at the dawn of independence.

A tremendous change has, however, come about in the world, specially in Asia and Africa during the last two decades. Colonialism has almost come to an end except, of course, in certain pockets. The continuance of these last vestiges of colonialism is indeed a matter of deep concern to Asians as well as Africans. For instance, Portugal still persists in pursuing a policy which is totally out of tune with the present-day world. It

is our earnest hope that the Portuguese colonial territories such as Mozambique, Angola and others will attain independence as soon as possible. A gravely disturbing development in recent weeks has been the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia. For us it is inconceivable that the majority of people in Southern Rhodesia should be deprived of their legitimate political rights. A situation like this cannot possibly be countenanced by the conscience of mankind. There are some other situations also which cause anxiety but I shall not go into further details.

The recession of colonialism in recent years and its virtual end in vast areas has, however, created a new and heartening awakening amongst the Asian and African countries. Men and women in these countries have now attained a new individuality of their own and they are no longer mere witnesses to events surrounding them but controlled by others.

There are still many hurdles in our way. We are relatively poor and overpopulated. Mostly we are under-developed. Our people are unable, at present, even to impart education to their children in adequate measure and they themselves have limited access to the benefits of science and technology.

And yet we in India are deterred neither by the immensity of the challenge that we face nor by the complexity of the tasks that we are called upon to undertake. We are in the throes of an industrial revolution and we are dealing with the economic and social problems that inevitably arise. Whereas in other countries the concept of social security found general acceptance after the pangs of industrial development had been got over, we believe that as we develop we should simultaneously assume and endeavour to discharge the wider social responsibilities to the community. Indeed there is a distinct widening of the horizon in regard to this subject. There has now developed a basic change in certain fundamental concepts about society and the individual. No longer it is possible for any country, any government, to take the view that disease, unemployment, illiteracy are problems for individuals rather than for society. It is now universally recognised that these problems can only be solved through organised social effort and enlightened government policies.

Science and technology have made it possible for every human being to be assured of certain minimum needs. Every government does its best to relieve distress, to help the helpless, to look after the sick, to give relief to the unemployed, to rehabilitate the refugees and to open new ways to life for the disabled. In a country which is poor, these facilities and services are necessarily more limited in their scope and operation than in countries which are rich, prosperous and affluent. In a sense, it is a pity that, by and large, the fundamental problems of social security are still tackled on a national plane which means that a country which is poor and which has far more need for social security measures is also far less

able to provide them. In India our general problems are so multitudinous and so vast that it is not yet possible to look after fully or even substantially the individual's welfare. We have to attend primarily to industrial and agricultural development which is essential for a strong economic base and hence we have really failed to discharge our responsibilities towards the common man so far as social security is concerned.

And yet our objectives in India have been quite clear. We have resolved in the preamble to our Constitution, *inter alia*, to secure to all our citizens:

JUSTICE—social, economic and political,

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, and

EQUALITY of status and opportunity.

To promote the welfare of the common man is the cornerstone of our national objective. Ever since the attainment of Independence, we have been engaged in building up a new social order free from exploitation, injustice, want, ignorance and fear, and in securing a better standard of living for our citizens. We have always attached the greatest importance to the welfare of the oppressed and downtrodden sections of the society. Mahatma Gandhi devoted his entire life to championing the cause of the backward classes. The so-called "depressed classes" were nearest to his heart and it was his constant endeavour until his dying day to ameliorate their living conditions and to do away with the social disabilities from which they had been suffering for centuries. Gandhiji waged a relentless war against injustice and oppression irrespective of where they occurred or by whom they were perpetrated. We have been trying to carry on his unfinished work. It has also been our endeavour to bring up the weaker and more vulnerable sections of the society to the level of others. We have also tried to help the weaker and retarded individuals by affording them the necessary means of rehabilitating themselves, so that they may not be a burden on the society. We know that the objectives which we have set before us are not easy of fulfilment in their entirety. For example, the problem of the depressed classes has not been fully solved and yet the change is so quick and so fast. There is a radical change in the minds of the people and the sense of untouchability has almost disappeared. However, we have to pursue it relentlessly till the last vestiges of this scourge have been eliminated. We have so far met with only a limited degree of success in other fields also but we are determined to persevere until the ultimate goal is reached.

This also is perhaps the case with other Asian countries which have recently achieved independence. In the developed countries a certain standard of life has already been reached which is, of course, much higher than ours. For them social security means a still better life and provision of much greater facilities and conveniences. To reach the level, for example, of the European countries, is still a far off dream for us. It is the dearth

of resources which is mainly responsible for this situation.

I do not know if there could be some kind of international cooperation for bringing about a quicker change in the conditions of our people. As economic aid is given for other purposes there should be perhaps some fund earmarked for social security in the under-developed countries. There are already welcome signs of a quickening of the human conscience on the international plane. If volcanoes erupt, if there are floods or famines, if there are earthquakes or typhoons causing havoc in any part of the world, helpful contributions, large and small, pour in from different parts of the globe. Perhaps, one day, the common bond of humanity will transcend the barriers created by the existence of nation-states and social security will become a truly international effort for the human society as a whole. When such a day comes, I hope it will be said that the International Social Security Association made some contribution in bringing about this transformation.

During the last half a century the world has made phenomenal progress in the field of science and technology. It has helped in the furtherance of a prosperous society and towards the betterment of the life of the individuals. Yet there is a strange tension prevailing in the world. Peace seems to be threatened. In this background the talk of development and progress might well appear to be somewhat unreal.

We have had a conflict in the Indian sub-continent which we consider to be most unfortunate. However, I can only assure you all that India has never taken the offensive nor does it want to do so in future. Aggression has been committed on us by our neighbours on more than one occasion. And there was no alternative left for us except to take necessary measures to defend our integrity and freedom. However, let us hope that there will be no more fighting and it would be possible for us to live in peace and as good neighbours.

Maintenance of peace is essential for the progress and advancement of humanity, for better relations between one State and another. It is, therefore, essential that the countries of Asia should do their utmost to keep peace within the continent. After all, almost all the countries in Asia are still in the developing stage and they must, therefore, work for the cause of the common man and thus try to build up a new society and a new social order.

Conflicts should not divert our attention from this main objective and I would appeal to countries of Asia, in which I include our own country, to sit together and search for the avenues of peace. It would give real relief to the people of Asia and also help in the maintenance of peace in the world.

I would not like to say more and would once again express our gratification that this international conference is being held in Delhi. International conferences play a useful role at all times as they afford an oppor-

tunity to the participants for the exchange of knowledge, ideas and experience. The present conference deals with matters of far reaching importance, particularly to the peoples of underdeveloped countries. I have no doubt that the deliberations of the present conference will also be of great significance not only for the countries of the region but also for the world at large. The problems which confront the countries represented by you, gentlemen, are similar to those which are faced by us. We shall look forward to learning from you, during the course of discussions and exchange of views at this conference, how you have tried to tackle your problems and overcome your difficulties. We might also be able to make some useful suggestions based on the experience gained by us during the period of nearly two decades since the attainment of our Independence.

HIS MENTORS : GANDHI AND NEHRU

1. GANDHI WAS AN IDEA

I HAVE BEEN from my young days much impressed by Gandhiji's precept and way of life. I was a young man of about 14 years when I heard Gandhiji's speech for the first time when he had started his non-cooperation movement in the year 1920-21. I did not take much time to give up my studies and join the freedom struggle. I do not know why I did it, but there was Gandhi at that time. He was not just a personality or an individual. He had become an idea. He was, of course, an institution. His name was on the lips of millions of our people—men, women and children. Gandhiji was a strange and unique personality. He was perhaps the first man, the first political leader who tried to evade high politics. Therefore he gave up the weapon of violence. One can understand the adoption of the technique of peace and non-violence amongst individuals in the family or in a group of people. But to introduce it as a technique in the political field, where you have to fight your opponent, is something unique in the history of the world. I remember in those days whenever we heard Gandhiji we felt within ourselves that we were purified. Gandhiji was a unique combination of two great personalities of India. He accepted the philosophy of Lord Krishna—that is the philosophy of *Geeta*. And he adopted the way of life of Lord Ramachandra. So, in his day-to-day life he had the *adarsh* of Shri Rama, and in his action, in his philosophy he believed

in the high principles enunciated in the *Geeta*. It is rarely that such men are born and come amongst us and work for us and for the humanity.

I must admit that we are gradually forgetting Gandhiji and in the process ignoring the high principles for which Gandhiji lived and died. Throughout his life, he preached national unity, national integration and communal harmony. But we get easily upset if there is any kind of minor communal trouble and start indulging in violence. Those who have any faith in Gandhiji must work for communal unity and national integration.

I shall remind you of another thing. You know that recently China exploded an atom bomb. Our late Prime Minister Jawaharlalji, wherever he went, preached that peace should be maintained and there should be no major or minor war or conflict in this world. In fact he tried to translate the philosophy of Gandhiji into action. He tried to do it in a much wider context. What is the reaction of our people at present on account of the Chinese explosion? The immediate reaction seems to be, not amongst all but at least in some quarters, that we should immediately start making atom bombs in India so that we also become a nuclear power. How can we in this land of Gandhi get upset over this matter and act and work against the basic philosophy of Gandhiji? As I said, we will try to eliminate nuclear bombs from this world but not enter into competition of making atom bombs in our country.

2. THE GOSPEL OF GANDHI

GANDHIJI WAS THE greatest man of this country. It is given to a few leaders not to traverse the beaten path. I remember the first World War (1914—18). It was just after that he conceived the idea of fighting one of the biggest empires in the world in a non-violent way. Gandhiji believed in non-violence as a creed. Of course, he did not expect thousands and millions of people in our country to believe it as a creed. In fact he told the top leaders of the Congress Party in those days that if they did not believe in non-violence as a creed they might accept it as a policy. However, he, in his own way, tried to teach non-violence as a fundamental principle to be adopted and accepted by us. When this approach of non-violence was accepted by us or by the Indian National Congress, Gandhiji introduced something unique in the political field. It was a sight to see in those days when hundreds and thousands of people went out in demon-

stration and there were lathi charges, but no one moved from his place. Lathi charges were inflicted and were borne gladly. If hundred people were arrested, there were thousands standing behind them to court imprisonment. Even when there was firing it was accepted without any murmur or without any protest.

All of a sudden Gandhiji created a new atmosphere in this country. We were a weak country in the sense that we did not know that it would be possible for us to fight the British Government. But he gave a new form of battle, I mean the non-violent battle, and created a spirit which was unparalleled in the history of the world. He created a spirit among millions of our countrymen that we have the courage of our convictions and for the sake of these convictions we are prepared to suffer, to undergo hardships.

Of course, we fought for about 27 years—not a very long period in the freedom struggle of a nation. There are countries which have fought for 100 years, for 60 years, for 70 years. But for us it was, in a sense, a much smaller period. During this short period a new awakening came into this country. A new principle of non-violence came up before the world. Non-violence is really based on love. It admits of no hatred, nor any bitterness.

In his last days Gandhiji also thought of Sarvodaya which really meant that the last man, the weakest link or the weakest element in the society, will have to be looked after. After him, Acharya Vinoba took it up and now we have the Sarvodaya Organisation, the Sarva Seva Sangh. We have socialism as our objective. Ultimately socialism through democracy more or less fulfils the ideals of Sarvodaya. Socialism through dictatorship or through imposition or as a regimented thing is something entirely different. This country does not favour it. By and large, our people love democracy, our people love freedom of action, of speech.

It should be possible to coordinate the work of Sarvodaya and the work of the Government in rural areas. No doubt we have to have bigger projects, bigger industries, basic industries, but it is a matter of the highest importance that we look to the common man, the weaker element of the society. When we think in terms of the common man we have to think of his food, his clothing, his shelter, medical facilities, recreation for the children. These are some of the basic necessities of life which everyone needs, and more so in the rural areas. We cannot ignore this fact in whatever we may plan, and howsoever big our plan might be. We cannot go on doing things which do not touch the common man, which do not touch the weaker element of our society. It is, therefore, important that when we think of Gandhiji we should think of the poorer sections of society.

Gandhiji had a way of life. His principles mainly lay not so much in theory as in action. If we are not wedded to any particular ideology, by which I mean the western type of ideology, then we have much in our own country which suits our genius and our tradition. So we must keep to them. This was the teaching of Gandhiji.

3. NEHRU BELONGED TO PEOPLE

I CONGRATULATE THE P & T Ministry for having taken the initiative in bringing out the commemorative stamp of our departed leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Many important and useful memorials will be set up in the memory of Panditji. I am glad that the P & T is the first in the field and has come out with this beautiful stamp.

Government will have to move quickly in the matter of setting up Nehru memorials. The first thing which has to be done is to plan and prepare a project for the Shantivan; how it is to be built up and developed, what kind of memorial it should be. We have to take up that work first.

This stamp represents what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stood for. It is a strange coincidence that this man, who was brought up in an aristocratic family and in comfort and luxury, should have identified himself with the people, with the masses. This stamp shows how happy he felt among the multitudes. It is also in no way less surprising that he received this adoration not only from the people of India. Wherever he went outside India, whether it was Japan or Soviet Russia or to other European countries, he was given tremendous welcome not only by the officials or by the Ministers but by thousands and millions of the people living in those countries. That was because they felt that this man stood for the weak and for the suppressed. He was a man who fought against colonialism and imperialism in his own country. But he did not confine himself to his own country. His sympathy, his support was tremendous for all those who fought against colonialism and imperialism either in Asia or in Africa. I am, therefore, very happy that this idea has been so clearly brought forward in this stamp.

Panditji is no longer amongst us but we have to face boldly the problems which are yet to be tackled. What is most important is the implementation of our programmes and policies. Our programmes and our policies are sound. They were put forward by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself. He was the guiding star. Whether it was the Planning Commission or other Ministries, the hand of Jawaharlalji was to be seen in every project, in every scheme. We are on trial whether we would be able to implement and put into effect the programmes and policies he had enunciated. I would, therefore, beg of you, as I said specially to those who are connected with the Government, to see to it that our implementation is sufficient and effective.

4. NEHRU'S LEGACY

TODAY THE NATION is celebrating the 75th birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru. The day has been full of events dedicated to the children and the youth of the nation as it used to be during his lifetime. And tonight I should like to address myself, if I may, particularly to the young. To them belongs the future in the shaping of which Jawaharlalji made a unique contribution.

I should like to remind every young man and woman in the country that so many things which they take for granted today are in the nature of a legacy which Jawaharlalji has left to the nation. It was he who in 1928 proclaimed that complete Independence and not mere Dominion Status was the political goal of India—a goal which was adopted officially by the Congress on December 31, 1929. And on January 26, 1950, during his Prime Ministership, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It was he who took the lead in putting forward the concept of planned development for India even before the Second World War broke out. He presided over the launching of India's First Five Year Plan in 1951 and during his lifetime the nation made phenomenal economic and technological progress. It was he who first pointed out that without socialism democracy cannot be complete; and it was in his lifetime that socialism was accepted as the goal towards which we must move. It was Jawaharlalji who evolved the doctrine of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence to which an ever-increasing number of countries in the world subscribe. And it was his wisdom and counsel which, on many an occasion, reduced the tensions which were building up and removed the threat of war.

Yet it is not with his achievements alone, great as they were, that we should try to identify him. We should rather identify him with the forces which he generated throughout the country; forces which imparted a new dynamism. It is for us to keep the flame burning, the spirit alive.

There is hardly any aspect of Indian life—social, political or economic—to which he did not give a new impetus. Let us remind ourselves of some of the perils which he fought and brought under control and which, if we are not careful, may raise their heads again. He was, as you know, against communalism. His attitude towards the minorities was one of equality, indeed of generosity. The secular State which he shaped was born out of the feeling so deep in his heart that every citizen of India—whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian or a Sikh, or a Parsee or a Jew or a Buddhist or a Jain—has equal rights. Let all those who remember Jawaharlal with affection on his 75th birthday dedicate themselves to the task of national solidarity and pledge themselves to fight communalism, linguism and casteism, in whatever shape or form

they may appear.

The same humanitarian approach was at the root of his thinking on economic subjects, his passion for planning and his desire to create a socialist society. He wanted to banish from this land hunger, disease, illiteracy and all the ills that attend upon poverty; and towards this end, he sought the cooperation of everyone—of labour, of the business community, of the administration, of teachers and of people in politics. Speaking shortly after Independence, he had said that ours was a generation sentenced to hard labour in order that the vast potential of progress could be converted into actuality.

It was in this same spirit of love for humanity that he approached international problems. When he spoke on international affairs, he had only one thought—to promote peace. He did not take up positions calculated to help India in one way or another, but rather he thought of humanity as a whole. The same peaceful approach was to be found even when India herself was a party to a dispute. Twice in his lifetime, India was exposed to naked aggression. Even while fighting invaders with the force of arms and the gallantry of our soldiers, he never abandoned the peaceful approach. He went to the UN over Pakistan's aggression. For Jawaharlalji no other course was possible for he believed in peace and in settling international disputes by peaceful methods. We cannot be enemies for ever, he declared, referring to Pakistan in 1950. This is as true today as it was when he uttered it. And in the same spirit of peace, he accepted without any reservation the Colombo proposals regarding the Chinese invasion. We must, he used to say, quoting Gandhiji, look at international problems not with blood-shot eyes but with eyes which are clear.

Jawaharlalji was a great devotee of science. It was only through science and technology that India can lift herself out of centuries of stagnation and the depths of poverty. Only through science can the farmer flourish and factories increase their production. But his scientific approach was not something different from his human approach to all the problems of life but an integral part of it.

He was at once a visionary and a scientist. The scientific spirit was an attitude, rather than an aptitude. It pertains to the mind. It should not be confused with manual skills or mechanical devices. It is based on a passion for truth, truth sought relentlessly, rejecting dogma and doctrine, through actual living experiment. It is not without significance that Gandhiji chose to call his autobiography "The Story of my Experiments with Truth".

Let us not lose the capacity to make experiments, to try things out and to discover the truth for ourselves. Truth is not something which is inherited, nor something which is prescribed by authority. Science rejects authority. No scientist would defend a theory by quoting another, Galileo, Newton, Einstein and now Narlikar have upset the theories built up by their predecessors. Science is always revolutionary. The slogans

which dominate politics and the superstitions which sometimes envelop our daily life can be dispelled only through a scientific approach, a rational approach to life which Jawaharlalji always had.

At the same time, let us not forget that science and rationalism divorced from human values can produce ruthless efficiency symbolised by the atomic bomb. It is not enough to have the mind of a scientist if we do not have the heart of a humanitarian. It was the greatness of Jawaharlalji that he had them both. Indeed, he was at pains to emphasise how important it is, to quote his own words, "for the human mind and human spirit to control science and direct it in the right direction". "The great path of science," he said, "has to be tempered by something and that something is spirituality".

As long ago as 1947, speaking in the Constituent Assembly, he said: "We hear a lot about the atom bomb and the various kinds of energy that it represents and in essence today there is a conflict in the world between two things, the atom bomb and what it represents and the spirit of humanity. I hope that while India will no doubt play a great part in all the material spheres, she will always lay stress on the spirit of humanity and I have no doubt in my mind that ultimately in this conflict that is confronting the world, the human spirit will prevail over the atom bomb."

In seventeen years of Independence, India has lost many great men who had waged a non-violent war against foreign domination. Gandhiji, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and now Jawaharlalji himself, who, fortunately for us, presided over the destinies of free India through the most difficult period of her history, are no more. But the country whom they served so devotedly lives and is moving on the road to prosperity. As Jawaharlalji had said so rightly in 1949, "a nation goes on and on. A nation does not die".

It will be for the youth of today to assume the responsibility tomorrow of running the affairs of this great country. And so to the youth of the country, on the 75th birth anniversary of Jawaharlalji, I say the future is yours. Let the humanism and the scientific spirit which Jawaharlalji had in such abundance enrich your hearts, ennable your minds and guide your actions.

5. NEHRU LIVES BEYOND DEATH

IT IS A happy coincidence that we meet here this morning on the birthday of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. I do not want to accept the fact

Speech at the release of Nehru coins on November 14, 1964

that he is no longer with us. He may not be here in a physical sense but he is very much amongst us in the spirit in which he served and led the nation. Prime Minister Nehru was a unique leader. He was a fighter for all right causes and yet he was a man of peace. He was a man of reason and yet he was highly emotional. I remember that in the days of the struggle for freedom, he could not withhold himself and came out with fighting speeches even when other leaders felt that he should not have done so. Since he became the Prime Minister, he tried to keep it hidden, his emotional heart, his emotional urges; but these sometimes came out, almost burst out in spite of him. It showed quite clearly his patent sincerity. It was this quality of his which evoked love and confidence. I have no doubt that these Nehru coins will be cherished and preserved by the people throughout the country. Jawaharlalji will always be remembered. It is difficult for us to forget him, but it is essential that we should try to imbibe his qualities, his strength and courage so that we can go ahead with determination with the task he has left behind.

6. NEHRU'S FAITH IN INDIA'S UNITY

THE CRISIS THROUGH which we have recently passed and which still continues has underlined afresh the deep debt of gratitude which the nation owes to Jawaharlalji.

All his life he worked for strengthening India in all the important sectors of her life and activity. He stood steadfastly for the unity of the country—unity between different communities, between different States, linguistic groups and between different social strata. With him this unity was not merely a matter of principle but of living faith. He believed that the diversities which constitute the Indian nation are strands which strengthen the whole fabric and lend colour to the large landscape. Not all shared his confidence, specially abroad. But when the challenge came the whole nation stood up for his faith. There was a spontaneous demonstration of unprecedented unity and solidarity. There could be no greater tribute to the great leader.

But the road which Jawaharlalji opened up never ends. For it is the road leading from squalour and slavery through freedom to dignity and fulfilment. And fulfilment has ever-expanding horizons. The farther we travel on the road, the farther we see and the greater the urge to do and to achieve.

So on this day while we pay our homage to his great leadership, we also promise ourselves that we shall continue to march ahead on that road.

Message on Nehru's 76th birth anniversary on November 14, 1965

That is the road to greater prosperity, expanding freedom and, above all, increasing dignity for every Indian. And like him, we believe that we shall share these blessings with the rest of mankind.

BOOK TWO

**INDIA AND THE
WORLD**

CHAPTER I

ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

1. A POSITIVE PROGRAMME FOR PEACE

MANY OF MY distinguished colleagues have referred feelingly to the passing away of one of the founding fathers of the non-aligned movement, namely our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. His departure has left an aching void in the hearts not only of his own countrymen but of all peace-loving peoples in the world. I believe there is not one of us who does not miss his presence at this Conference, to whose aims and aspirations he had contributed so much. His voice, alas, is silent but his message will continue to inspire all those striving for peace, international understanding and the freedom and dignity of man.

Being for the first time on African soil I cannot but recall that it was at the southern end of this vast continent that our great leader Mahatma Gandhi developed his philosophy and technique of non-violent struggle which he first deployed against racialism in South Africa. He perfected this later in his own country into a vast non-violent national movement against imperialism. And, finally, when communal passions ran high in the cruel aftermath of partition, by his martyrdom, at the hands of a co-religionist in the cause of his Muslim brethren, he upheld with his very life the ideal of secularism.

With his departure, Jawaharlal Nehru took up the thread and as the Prime Minister of India strove to the end to apply these ideals on a still wider plane. He sought democracy and a new social order and the promotion and maintenance of peace not only for his own country but for the whole world. Though Jawaharlalji is no longer with us,

the Government and people of India stand dedicated to freedom and peace, to the principle of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, and to the eradication of racialism and colonialism.

Even in the days of our own freedom struggle, Jawaharlal Nehru had raised the question of the freedom of the African peoples. He had said about a quarter of a century ago that Africa would emerge one day as a new force on the world scene. How truly that prophecy has been fulfilled ! Africa, which had been kept in bondage for more than a century, is on the march, determined to fulfil its destiny. We have no doubt that whatever remnants of colonialism remain will soon disappear.

It is indeed a unique gathering that we have here. What unites us and brings us together is not any pact, not any alliance, not even a common allegiance to any particular dogma or doctrine. By being non-aligned we have asserted and proclaimed the right to think for ourselves and to speak for ourselves. Our voice is not an echo. It is the authentic voice of the people we represent and for whom we speak. And we and our people share and agree upon certain ideals and certain objectives. First and foremost, we believe in peace, in the settlement of all disputes through peaceful means, in the abolition of war, and more particularly, nuclear war. Secondly, we believe in freedom, freedom for the people of each country to follow their destiny without external interference. And, above all, we believe in the dignity of man as an individual whatever his race, colour or creed, and in his right to a better, fuller and richer life.

The non-aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed in pursuit of their common objectives. The time has now come to formulate a positive programme in the furtherance of peace. The main elements in the programme, in our view, should be the following five points : (1) nuclear disarmament; (2) peaceful settlement of border disputes; (3) freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination; (4) acceleration of economic development through international cooperation; and (5) full support for the United Nations and its programmes for peace and development.

First and foremost, there is the programme of nuclear disarmament. We note with satisfaction that there has been a measure of agreement, however limited, at the Geneva Disarmament Conference. When the Conference resumes its sessions, we would all hope and wish for further progress. We, the non-aligned countries, should continue to play a helpful role in promoting agreement towards total nuclear disarmament. It is important to realise that the mere limitation of tests, proclamation of certain areas as being free from nuclear weapons, and any other limited measures of this character will not and cannot be enough for protecting

humanity from the horrors of nuclear war. Nuclear disarmament must be total and complete and it is in that direction that we must move.

We cannot but express our serious concern at the fact that not all powers have agreed to subscribe to the Partial Test Ban Treaty. The non-aligned nations must take up a clear and forthright attitude and call upon all the nations of the world to accept the ban on nuclear tests and then full moral force must be brought to bear on those countries which refuse to subscribe to the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Many of those assembled here might recall how strongly the first Non-Aligned Nations' Conference at Belgrade felt on the subject of nuclear tests and how separate missions were sent to the USA and the USSR to persuade them to desist from further tests. With this background in mind, this Conference should consider the recent disturbing indications which suggest that China is about to explode a nuclear device. I propose that we might consider sending a special mission to persuade China to desist from developing nuclear weapons. I say this not because India and China have some differences today. These differences must sooner or later be resolved. But the threat to humanity from one more country having nuclear weapons at its disposal is a far more serious matter. We in India stand committed to the use of nuclear power only for peaceful purposes and, even though in a purely technical and scientific sense, we are capable of developing nuclear weapons, our scientists and technicians are under firm orders not to make a single experiment, not to perfect a single device which is not needed for peaceful uses of atomic energy. Despite all our differences, may I venture to take this opportunity through this Conference of appealing to China to accept a similar discipline?

My second point relates to the peaceful settlement of border disputes. While the cold war has abated somewhat, yet all too often fighting breaks out in different parts of the world because neighbours have boundary disputes. We should welcome the proposals made by Chairman Khrushchev and other Heads of Government on renouncing the use of force for solving territorial disputes or questions of frontiers. At the recent meeting of the Organisation of African Unity the African States pledged themselves to respect the borders that existed when they achieved their national independence. This is a positive lead which must be followed and the principle should be made universal.

It is obvious that if this principle is to be successful we must evolve other methods of settling such differences and disputes. Direct negotiations between the parties concerned would be an ideal solution. As the late President Kennedy has so fittingly said : While we should never negotiate out of fear, we should never fear to negotiate.

Quite often the commencement of negotiations is hampered by one party or the other seeking to impose certain conditions. To be real and fruitful, negotiations must be free from all preconditions. Their

basis must be the customary or the traditional boundaries which may be in existence and not any new boundaries that may have been created by force of any kind. Non-aligned nations should declare their strong opposition to any changes brought about by open use of force as well as by quiet penetration of borders or subversion of one kind or another. In this context, it would be relevant to recall the famous words used by Jawaharlal Nehru more than a decade ago : "Where freedom is menaced or justice is threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral."

The third point I wish to make is this : because of our past history and our own freedom struggle, we stand unequivocally for the emancipation of colonies and dependent countries. We strongly believe—in theory as well as in practice—in giving equal opportunities to all, regardless of race, caste, creed or sex. We are entirely opposed to the doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised.

On this continent of Africa, there are quite a few areas which are unfortunately still under the shackles of colonial rule. Portuguese oppression continues in Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea. In Southern Rhodesia, the white minority Government seeks to impose its will on the majority. Over South West Africa, the illegal and alien rule of South Africa continues in defiance of world public opinion. We greet the freedom fighters from Angola and other oppressed territories and offer them our full support for the success of their heroic struggle for independence.

While we stand pledged to the right of self-determination for dependent territories under colonial rule, I would like to sound a note of caution. Self-determination is the right of any country that is dominated by another. But there can be no self-determination for different areas and regions within a sovereign and independent country, for this would only lead to fragmentation and disruption and no country's integrity would be safe. Hateful policies of apartheid and racial discrimination of the Union of South Africa are an affront to mankind. India severed her trade relations completely with South Africa in 1946. In economic terms this meant considerable loss. Through all these years we have adhered firmly to this policy. How we wish more countries were able to observe and implement this policy. In fact, what is required is strict economic sanctions and an effective ban on supplies, particularly of arms and oil. The struggle for the defence of human values in South Africa must continue until it is crowned with success.

While racialism has to be strongly condemned, whether it is of the South African variety or any other, may I suggest to the non-aligned nations that sometimes it becomes essential to look within. May I in

that context say that we have also to make sure that no form of racialism is allowed to operate amongst citizens of member countries. Discriminatory action against residents of certain racial origin can also be harmful. Sometimes economic considerations are at the back of such steps and certainly exploitation of any sort by any class or community is to be deplored. But care must be taken that any action initiated on economic grounds does not result in racial bias or discrimination. When any State or Government faces special difficulties on account of persons living there who were originally from another country, it is best to tackle them after mutual discussion and consultation.

The programme for economic development through international cooperation, which is my fourth point, is not, let me emphasise at the outset, a programme for seeking more aid. It is basically a programme of greater effort on the part of each developing country to mobilise its own resources. We want to stand on our own feet. If we are unable to do so straightway, it is mainly because a long period of political subjection has sapped our resources and stifled our initiative. We therefore do need help, but what we seek should be the minimum and not the maximum and it should be directed towards making us independent of aid. In such a programme, we developing nations must help ourselves and help each other even before we seek assistance from outside. Although we may be individually deficient in various things, through co-operation amongst ourselves we can do a great deal for each other. We in India are trying our best to muster our technical and material resources to participate in a programme of economic cooperation with other developing countries to whom we can be of assistance.

We are now in the middle of what is called the United Nations Development Decade. We have had a Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva earlier this year. May I say that while these are important steps in the right direction, we are not satisfied with what has been done or promised so far ?

The target of economic growth which was set for the Development Decade by the United Nations is in need of an upward revision. The work done at Geneva needs to be carried forward. Meanwhile, all States must agree to implement the recommendations embodied in the final Act. The most important of these is bringing into being new international institutions which have been envisaged. Unless the developing countries can expand and diversify their export trade, unless the transfer of capital from developed to developing countries on satisfactory terms can be accelerated, economic progress will not attain a pace compatible with peace and freedom.

My fifth and last point relates to the support which all of us must give to the United Nations in pursuit of the policies to which I have just referred. We are all members of the United Nations and if we

meet and confer on our own we do so only with a view to strengthening the United Nations as an organisation and to carrying its objectives forward. The United Nations takes the greatest interest in how these operations are begun, organised, financed and manned.

Despite the progress which has been made, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that all is not well with the world. In South and South-East Asia, there is an atmosphere of conflict and tension. The long travail of Vietnam and Laos continues. Cyprus has not yet been freed from its sufferings. The situation in Congo remains uncertain and unstable. In the Caribbean area, there are tensions and frictions. On our own northern borders, despite our acceptance of the proposals made by the non-aligned powers assembled at Colombo, we have been unable to get a friendly response from China. But we must continue to strive for peace, to resolve all differences through peaceful methods, by conciliation as distinct from confrontation, and by trust instead of suspicion.

While we have been moving steadily in the direction of the universality of membership, a major exception is China, which is still not a member. Although we have our differences with China, we have always supported and still support her admission to the United Nations. Furthermore, as countries which are still under colonial regimes of one kind or the other attain their independence, we would hope to see every part of the globe represented through the government of its own choice in the United Nations.

The United Nations as a whole has given support to the policies and programmes of peace, freedom and progress, which have been engaging our attention here. We should support it not merely in words but in action. It is on the non-aligned nations that the brunt of supplying forces for peace-keeping operations falls. India has on many occasions placed her armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations for keeping peace. It is, therefore, for the non-aligned nations to subscribe to these lofty ideals. We do not for a moment claim that we have attained the ideal for ourselves. We often err. We often fail. We should be ready to apply to ourselves and to each other the same criteria, the same principles that we advise others to follow and adopt. I have put these thoughts before this august body in all humility and yet in doing so I know that I am only spelling out the spiritual message of Gandhi.

2. INHERENT UNITY OF NON-ALIGNED WORLD

WE THE HEADS of the States or Governments at the Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations have today come to the end of our deliberations and have adopted a declaration to which we have all unanimously subscribed. The key note of this document is, as its title proclaims, a programme for peace and international cooperation. In this world of ours, where distance has shrunk, where interdependence and not exclusiveness is the key to progress and where the welfare of each is the concern of all, it is appropriate that we should have laboured together to promote, by joint action, goals of peace and international cooperation.

We, at this Conference, come from four continents and many countries. We belong to different cultures and political systems and speak different languages. But there is a fundamental unity in our outlook and approach and we have spoken with the same voice on the great problems that face the world today. It is this factor of common adherence to certain principles and policies that binds us together, for in our unity lies our strength. United we can help shape the future and ensure a more just and equitable world order in which peace and progress would prevail for the benefit of all mankind.

Of course, all our countries have their different problems and their different interests. But we have met here to reconcile our particular interests for the promotion of the general good. Our discussions have been frank and friendly and, as is evident from the results, we have achieved remarkable success in defining our attitude to the burning issues of the day.

The policy of peaceful co-existence underlines our broad approach to international relations and we have proclaimed a number of principles which should govern the conduct of the States in order to promote and to ensure world peace and security. We want a world where peace prevails and where there is freedom from the fear of nuclear annihilation. We have issued a call to the powers that have not yet signed the Moscow Treaty to do so and have further called on them to refrain from the acquisition or production of nuclear weapons. We have strongly urged peaceful settlement of disputes including border disputes and have proclaimed ourselves resolutely against the threat or the use of force and for the non-recognition of situations brought about by force. We have also raised our voice firmly and in unison against the evils of colonialism and of racial discrimination. We wish to lend our combined strength to the United Nations to enable it to fulfil more effectively its principles and purposes. And we wish to plan and work for an era of closer inter-

national cooperation in all fields of human endeavour with particular emphasis on economic development.

I have been deeply touched by the sincere and moving tributes paid from this rostrum to my illustrious predecessor Jawaharlal Nehru whose devotion to the principles of non-alignment and to the causes which all of us hold dear has been a source of inspiration to all of us. I wish to express my grateful thanks to all those friends who have joined together in honouring the hallowed memory of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Finally, it is with great pleasure that I extend to our esteemed host, President Gamal Abdul Nasser, our warmest thanks for the cordial and generous hospitality that he has accorded us. During my short stay in this beautiful city, I have been greatly moved by spontaneous expressions of friendship and brotherhood on the part of the leaders and the people of this great country. It has been for me a rich and heart-warming experience to meet at the Conference and outside the great leaders and statesmen from so many fraternal countries. On behalf of the Government and the people of India, I offer our warmest greetings to all of them and to their countries and peoples. May the high principles which have inspired our work at this Conference continue to guide our labours and to govern our actions in the service of our people and for the welfare of all mankind.

3. WORLD PEACE THROUGH DISARMAMENT

SINCE THE LAST war there has been a revolutionary development. I am referring to the independence different countries have achieved in Asia as well as in Africa.

Their objective is to build up a new social order in their country. We have suffered a good deal under the foreign domination and our people, specially farmers, landless labourers and workers, are steeped in poverty and it is important that we should first think of them. We must give them food, shelter and clothing. We have to see that there is equitable distribution of wealth. For us the most important and vital thing is the maintenance of peace in the world. People and countries can think differently on different matters. They can have different systems of government. And in this background Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru thought that it was essential that different countries, even differing among themselves in vital matters, should live together. He preached the principles of co-existence from one end of

the country to the other as well as abroad. I think this was one of his most vital contributions and if the world has to live in peace, we will have to accept this policy.

It is most regrettable that there is an atmosphere of cold war. There is tension everywhere. As a result we have to divert our attention and our resources towards different things. At the present moment, there is an attempt to disturb India, to keep some kind of tension in the minds of our people so that we are not able fully to concentrate on our economic development. It is time that the countries which do not possess nuclear weapons or nuclear devices for destructive purposes should stand united and raise their voice against nuclear developments. I have said earlier and I want to repeat it that it would be suicidal for India to enter into the arena of manufacturing nuclear weapons. We have to spend each and every pie at our disposal for the betterment of our people, for improving the lot of the weaker elements in our society. In these circumstances, purely from practical point of view I do feel that India cannot afford to adopt any other policy. If Asia, Africa and western countries like Canada resolve to work not only for stopping or banning nuclear tests but for their total destruction, they will succeed in eliminating the threat of nuclear warfare in the future.

4. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

THREE YEARS AGO, our late Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had, in a memorable address to the United Nations General Assembly on November 10, 1961, appealed for emphasising the elements of cooperation rather than of conflicts between the nations and peoples of the world. He had said : "We live in this world of conflict, and yet the world goes on, undoubtedly, because of the cooperation among the nations and the individuals. Little is known or little is said about the cooperation that is going on, but a great deal is said about every point of conflict. Therefore the world is full of this idea that the conflicts go on and we live on the verge of a disaster."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's suggestion that the Assembly might consider devoting a year to International Cooperation aroused enthusiastic response and culminated in the adoption of a resolution by the General Assembly designating 1965, the 20th year of the United Nations,

as the International Cooperation year. The United Nations has undoubtedly become the symbol and embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the world for peace, justice and progress. The lofty principles enshrined in the UN Charter constitute a testament of faith in the future of mankind. This faith can be maintained and strengthened only by the united effort of all to rid the world of the ancient ills of hunger, ignorance and disease and of the new terror of a nuclear holocaust.

There was a time when man, for lack of knowledge of the physical world, was helpless in meeting the dark forces of nature. Today, he has acquired the means to improve his condition through the unprecedented growth of science and technology which have uncovered many of nature's secret and hidden treasures. What is holding him back is selfishness and greed which hinder the full exploitation and equitable sharing of the world's resources and mutual fear and prejudice which divert precious resources into the wasteful production of mighty war machines—not only wasteful but incredibly dangerous and terrifying in this age of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

The year of International Cooperation serves to remind us all that it is only through practical acts of cooperation, whether in raising the standards of millions in the poor countries or in restoring freedom and equality to the oppressed nations and races or even in the conduct of our daily lives, that peace can be strengthened and the well-being of humanity assured.

5. WARS CANNOT SETTLE BORDERS

WHEN I WAS invited by you to receive an honorary degree from the University of McGill I was somewhat sceptical about my eligibility for this honour. However, I have accepted it in all humility and, indeed, I feel so grateful for your very generous gesture. I realise McGill is one of Canada's oldest and most distinguished universities and one which has developed close ties with India. Our esteemed President Dr. Radhakrishnan delivered a convocation address at this University some years ago, and in 1955 he delivered the renowned Beatty Memorial Lectures.

McGill University has in recent years devoted considerable scholarship to the study of India. I have learnt with pleasure that a centre for developing area studies has been set up which is engaged in teaching and research on India's economy, political system and society. It is interesting to know also of the Institute for Islamic Studies in McGill University.

As you know, India has the third largest Muslim population in the world, numbering some 50 million. The interest of Canadian scholars in India is gratifying, and I am very pleased to learn that it is proposed to set up an Institute of Indian Studies at McGill University which will enable Canadian scholars and students to carry out researches on India.

Canada has provided training for over 700 students and technicians from India under the Colombo Plan as well as about 150 students under the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan. With the projected Institute of Indian Studies at McGill, India will be in a position to welcome Canadian scholars and students and make available to Canadian centres of learning research material from India.

Because of its association with India, I had heard about the McGill University a long time ago. I come not as a visitor but as a pilgrim to this seat of learning, and I see in McGill a flourishing institution of academic study and a university whose maturity reflects the maturity of your country.

The biggest problem facing humanity today is how to avert violent conflicts and conflagrations. Even after the conclusion of the last devastating war, the world has never been completely at peace. There has been turmoil and violence continuously in one part of the world or the other during the last twenty years. There are warlike words and pronouncements heard so often in many parts of the world. And so nations and people live in the uneasy twilight between war and peace. A great many conflicts in the world have arisen because of attempts by some powers to alter historical boundaries by force. It seems important that the existing borders and frontiers of different countries should be accepted and they should not be disturbed through violence. If there is a dispute or a difference, the matter should be settled peacefully, even if it means waiting and delays for some time. To commit aggression for the rectification of border disputes is dangerous and will inevitably lead to bigger conflicts. It would be advisable, therefore, for international bodies to give serious thought to this matter and to resolve on abjuring violence for the solution of frontier or border disputes.

There is so much suspicion and distrust between countries and countries. Distrust begets distrust and the result is doubts and misgivings. This is the main reason for the differences which exist between the great power blocs. If for a moment the bigger countries could get over their complexes and try to understand each other better, things could definitely improve. Conflicts might arise in the case of smaller countries also. But if the cold war atmosphere has to be averted, it is essential that the bigger countries should start thinking and acting in a somewhat different way. Why should it be taken for granted that they will always live at loggerheads with each other. The general fear amongst the bigger countries is because none is aware of its position on account of the threat of attack from

one against the other. The fact of the matter is that none of the bigger countries really want to attack each other. But the fear is there and it persists. The United Nations might as well consider if there could be any truce between the big powers which are in conflict with each other. There should be a period of calculated and deliberate truce entered into between the big powers. This period should be fully utilised in searching for avenues to further strengthen peace through disarmament. An effort should also be made for greater cultural and economic contacts between countries during this period.

It is a matter of great regret that the situation in Vietnam has deteriorated of late and the end of hostilities is not yet in sight. We would like to see the people of Vietnam enjoy their freedom and independence without any interference from outside, from any quarter whatsoever. They must be left free to work out solutions to their own problems. It is a matter of satisfaction that both our countries, Canada and India, are agreed that all hostilities in Vietnam should cease so that negotiations may take place. It is my firm belief that Canada, India and other like-minded countries, which are wedded to peace, must persist in their efforts to prevent the situation from deteriorating further.

We seem to have entered a new phase in which there is a great danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons. A new element of anxiety has thus appeared on the international horizon. Despite overwhelming world public opinion against nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon testing, new nations are acquiring or aspiring to acquire nuclear weapons. Today at least half a dozen nations, in addition to those which are already nuclear powers or have exploded nuclear weapons, have the capacity to produce nuclear weapons within a short time. With each new nation becoming a nuclear power, a sense of fear among the others increases and alongside comes the desire to produce nuclear weapons for ensuring their own security. It is becoming fashionable in some quarters to possess nuclear weapons, both as a symbol of power and as an assurance of security—though both these aspects are highly exaggerated—and with every new nation that acquires nuclear weapons, the danger of world war increases.

We are among the countries which have the capability to produce nuclear weapons. We have enough know-how and scientific skill to do so. We have, however, decided, despite the dangers to which we are exposed, as a matter of deliberate policy not to produce nuclear weapons and to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only.

In this context disarmament has acquired even greater urgency than before. Disarmament is the problem of problems, and on the solution of it depends the future of humanity. Although all members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to achieving the goal of general and complete disarmament, progress in this direction so far has been on

the whole disappointing. It is true that nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, on the ground and under water have stopped—except by one nation, the People's Republic of China.

It is necessary that the question of disarmament should be taken up in the United Nations, in the Disarmament Committee and in all international forums which are concerned with this matter, with the utmost possible speed. No time should be lost. We have to move towards a world without war for which humanity yearns. There is, fortunately, much in the world today which gives cause for hope and encouragement. The last few decades have seen great achievements in the field of human rights and the emergence into freedom of peoples and nations from colonial rule. The major part of Asia and Africa was at one time under the rule of foreign powers. Today the peoples of Asia and Africa are free, independent and sovereign and masters of their own destiny. The emergence of these new nations has given a new dimension to international relations. The United Nations is richer for their presence. New forces have been generated for working towards the realisation of the ideal of social and economic progress, not for the privileged few, but for all humanity.

We in India are engaged in the tremendous task of building a better world for our 470 million people. We know by experience that the task is not an easy one; and the same difficulties that we are experiencing are felt by most developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which today form a large majority of the world's population. Two-thirds of the world's population belongs to the category of the developing or underdeveloped nations. There is a ferment among them. They want to catch up with the more advanced nations. They are in a hurry and they are impatient. International cooperation in the economic field needs to be reinforced and strengthened so that the aspirations of the people in these countries are fulfilled.

6. CALL FOR END TO VIETNAM WAR

QUESTION : Mr. Prime Minister, would you comment for us on what you think might be the possible method of achieving a cease-fire in Vietnam and getting negotiations started?

Answer : I do think that achieving cease-fire is by no means an easy matter. The attitude of the countries concerned has greatly stiffened during the last one month or two, if I might say so. It is my hope that in case bombing is stopped there might be a better climate for having some

kind of talks and discussions. What is essential is that hostilities should come to an end and then a conference of the Geneva type might be held in which the greatest issues involved could be discussed and a cease-fire arrived at.

Question : How do you evaluate the recent cease-fire attempt on the part of the United States, and its usefulness?

Answer : Well, it is good that the United States thought of it and stopped the bombing for a few days, but perhaps the ground should have been prepared in a better way, and there should have been some kind of regular announcement that the United States had thought of stopping the bombing: it might have produced a somewhat better result.

Question : In the morning paper there is a story from Saigon which says that a United States air-borne troop is being committed to battle there. Can you comment on the likely consequences of this type of involvement by the United States?

Answer : What shall I comment except to say that it will further complicate matters and it will add to the present seriousness of the situation.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, do you have any new plans to try to persuade North Vietnam or communist China to come to a conference table as President Johnson proposed?

Answer : We have no specific plan as such, but there might be discussions in different forums in the course of the next few days or the next few weeks; and it is just possible that something positive might come out of these discussions or these meetings.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, in that connection can you comment on Mr. Martin's suggestion that the North Vietnamese be given permission to include in their delegation representatives of the National Liberation Front ?

Answer : You mean the suggestion was considered ?

Question : One of the papers said, in regard to the situation, that the Indian Prime Minister has agreed with the suggestion of the Canadian Government and Mr. Lester Pearson. Have you comments on this, or do you know what the attitude of Hanoi may be? Is it possible that Hanoi may nominate them on the delegation?

Answer : There has been no specific agreement on this matter. I am not aware as to what the attitude of North Vietnam would be but, as I said, the suggestion made by the Foreign Minister of Canada deserves consideration.

Question : The communique states that a military solution is neither practical nor desirable. Not desirable from whose point of view, under Vietcong trying to achieve victory?

Answer : Desirable, of course, from the point of view of people of Vietnam — the feelings of the people who have been afflicted with

all the sufferings. Besides, no one has said, as far as I know, that this matter could be solved militarily. I think that perhaps the thinking of the United States is along the same lines; they also feel that it is much better to settle it peacefully rather than through military means.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, are you concerned about the possibility of any further attack on your country by China, and does the fact that China is an emerging nuclear power cause any further concern than you have had in the past?

Answer : I do not know what the intention of China is. They are concentrated on our frontier — their armies — and it is a constant threat to our country. There is no doubt that the explosion of the nuclear bomb has caused great concern to us and to our people. We are, however, decided that we will not manufacture nuclear weapons. We would not make them. Yet, we are very particular that the world as a whole should consider how to stop further proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is a matter of vast importance, because if what China has done leads other countries to attempt the same approach, then humanity, or mankind at large, would be in constant danger of nuclear war; therefore, I say it is essential that all available steps be taken to think of measures towards eliminating nuclear weapons.

Question : Sir, can you say what steps might be taken particularly to prevent this proliferation, and what is the best forum for doing it ? The communique mentions eighteen members.

Answer : Yes, I think the disarmament committee is the proper agency to think over these matters. The latest proposals have been put forward by different countries, and they have made certain suggestions. I would not like to go into them. Possibly you would like China to participate in the disarmament committee proceedings.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, the communique deplores the increasing tendency to use force to settle border disputes. Does that include India's border as well ? If so, how is one to interpret how India seized Portuguese territory by military means ?

Answer : What India did is an old story; what has happened on Indian borders is something very new and very recent. What we agreed to at the Non-Alignment Conference that the border problems should not be settled by means of force, is I think, a sound principle. In case there are differences they should as far as possible be discussed around the table.

Question : Would you comment on the legality of colonialism ? I believe our standard of colonialism is not legal, *ab initio*, and this was declared in the United Nations resolutions. Would you comment on the legal position of Portuguese territory, and Angola, and these other territories—how they claim protection of borders ?

Answer : So far as borders are concerned, they relate to two sovereign states; whereas, in the matter of colonies the issue is entirely different. It is a question pertaining to the independence or self-government of the people residing there. No foreign power should keep any area of any other country under subjugation. It is entirely the full right of the people to seek self-determination, and India has always lent full support to the freedom of colonies. We still stick to that same view.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, we continue to get reports of very serious economic conditions in India. Would you tell us how you feel about these and what progress has been made ?

Answer : There have been economic difficulties in our country, but we have tried to get over them through attempting various measures. We had to face shortage of food last year, and we had to import a good deal from other countries. Canada also came to our help and supplied us with about 100,000 tonnes of wheat. Our food position has improved this year, because we had a very good crop of both rice and wheat. However, I would like to remove the impression that there is starvation in India and people are dying from starvation. There has been no single case of death by starvation, and we have every hope that in the coming years it will be possible to increase our agricultural production and build up a stock, both by the help of indigenous stocks and through imports from abroad. But sometimes the time comes when we may have to depend on imports.

There is a foreign exchange difficulty as well—it is very recent, the last couple of months—and it has become a serious problem with us. We are, however, taking the greatest measures in order to meet this situation, and I am sure we will get over it.

Question : Will your country be able to get over it by itself, or will it have to increase its request for aid from countries outside of India ?

Answer : Well, we will have to do both. Naturally, we will have to depend more on ourselves, and then we may have to ask for loans from others.

Question : Do you feel your country can remain a non-aligned nation indefinitely, particularly with the resurgence of Communist China, and if so, how effective a peace-keeping role do you think India can play ?

Answer : Non-alignment is a policy which we have accepted and adopted deliberately. It is a policy which helps us in keeping out of power blocks as such, and I do not think we can afford to change it. In fact, more and more countries have or will accept or adopt this policy. What is your other question ?

Question : I asked, how effective a role you feel India could play in peace-keeping in the future ?

Answer : I think a non-aligned country has greater chances in helping to maintain peace. India has been playing its own role in this regard, and we

hope to continue playing it and to contribute to its logical objective.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, if attacked again by China, would India again seek military assistance from the Western democracies, including the United States ?

Answer : Why consider that hypothetical question ? If it comes to that, India will consider what it has to do.

Question : Do you know when you may visit the United States ?

Answer : I do not know. But, anyhow, it will not be possible for me to go to Washington from Ottawa. The President has invited me to visit there sometime in the autumn, but it will not be possible because our Parliament will be in session.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, the other day our Foreign Minister told a committee here in relation to Vietcong aggression in South Vietnam that if South Vietnam were conquered by force and if the rest of the world sits by and lets this happen, because it is merely a civil war, we would be guilty of an error as serious as that made in Munich. How do you regard that ?

Answer : We believe in the freedom and independence of Vietnam, and we are of the opinion that the two Vietnams should unite. It is important that these countries be given every opportunity to develop and flourish on their own, and in keeping with their own genius. It would not be desirable for any foreign country to intervene in South Vietnam, or Vietnam, or any other country of South-East Asia.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, one of the four conditions laid down by North Vietnam as a prelude to negotiations is the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Vietnam. Do you support this ?

Answer : I do think that ultimately it should mean the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Question : On the question of peace-keeping in the United Nations, so long as there is no discussion towards making the U.N. effective again as a peace-keeping agency, would you agree that it is necessary that the General Assembly regain the power to authorise peace-keeping operations, if the Security Council cannot act ?

Answer : Well, generally it is for the Security Council to consider it and make decisions. However, as you are aware, there is considerable difference of opinion over this. I would not like to indicate my views, on the details of this question just at the present.

Question : Mr.,Prime Minister, could you give us your views on the decision in the Middle East, following your discussions with President Nasser, as to how long, you feel, Canadians and Indians, among others, will have to remain in the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East ?

Answer : It is very difficult for me to say how long the forces will have to stay there. It is one of the problems which is naturally a serious one and is under active consideration of the international com-

munity. I do hope that as far as possible it would be peacefully settled. It is difficult for me to indicate the time it would take.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, what do you think is perhaps the most important issue that will come before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London?

Answer : How do you make a distinction between one item and another ? It will be ultimately for the Prime Ministers to decide which items are more important and which are less important.

Question : Do you feel the forthcoming talks with Chou En-lai will help to facilitate peace negotiations in Vietnam ? Have you any plan which you propose to give ?

Answer : We will be meeting in conference; and in the conference and its surroundings there are many opportunities for different delegations to meet and have a conference themselves. But before an important meeting it is always better to have some kind of preliminary preparation, discussions for preparing the ground for a summit meeting. As I said, we may have an opportunity to meet each other in the conference.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, in your absence from India the Action Committee of Kashmir has started what it calls a non-violent campaign to gain the right of self-determination by the people of Kashmir. Can you say what the prospects for settlement of the Kashmir question are, and if Sheikh Abdullah will be retained in detention ?

Answer : He thinks he is detained.

Question : Will he continue in detention indefinitely ?

Answer : One does not know. It all depends on the situation as it happens, as it changes and as it develops.

Question : Mr. Prime Minister, do you think there is any imminent danger of China intervening in the Vietnam situation ?

Answer : In the solution ?

Question : Directly in the war there ?

Answer : If I base my reply on the indications as they are at present, there does not seem to be much chance of direct intervention by China in the present conflict there, although they hold very strong views.

7. NO MILITARY SOLUTION TO VIETNAM CONFLICT

I AM INDEED grateful to you not only for the excellent lunch, but also for arranging this admirable opportunity for meeting so many distinguished

Speech at a Press luncheon hosted by Indian Journalists' Association in London on June 17, 1965

persons from the world of the press. It is quite evident that the Indian journalists in London hold a truly unique position.

As you know, I have just returned after a five-day visit to Canada. Although I was able to see only a very small part of that vast country, I was very much impressed by its beauty and by the sincerity and friendliness of the Canadian Government and people. My talks with Mr. Lester Pearson and his colleagues were very cordial throughout and we found ourselves in agreement on important matters we discussed. I think our two countries which have already done so much to maintain peace in different areas of the world can cooperate very fruitfully in seeking a solution to some of the difficult problems that still exist.

It gives me great pleasure to be in London just now for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. It is the first time that I am participating in this unique gathering. I am looking forward to the discussions which will go on during the next few days and I hope that these will lead to at least some easing of the many tensions and difficulties with which we are all faced. I will not dwell further on this because you will be following the discussions from day to day.

Almost immediately after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, there will be the Afro-Asian Conference at Algiers. As one of the original sponsors of the first Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955, India is prepared to do all it can to make the conference a success. Unfortunately, some differences have already arisen in the matter of admission of members, etc., and unless these are amicably settled, there might be difficulties. It is also necessary that no bilateral disputes are taken up for discussion as otherwise it would lead to needless controversy. There are plenty of major problems to occupy the attention of the Afro-Asian countries, and it is very much to be hoped that they will be able to give a valuable lead in respect of some of them. The foremost problem, of course, is the maintenance of peace. Closely linked with it is the problem of disarmament, while others of great importance are the ending of colonial and racial discrimination, and economic development and collaboration. The Afro-Asian nations are almost all of them in the category of under-developed nations and they have to decide together how they can help one another in their struggle for better lives for their people.

The problem of problems at the moment is, of course, the problem of Vietnam. No doubt this problem will figure largely in the discussions, both at the Commonwealth Conference and at the Afro-Asian Conference. It is difficult at the moment to suggest a way out, because the attitude on both sides has hardened so much, but the other countries of the world should persist in their efforts to bring about some relaxation of the situation. The endeavour should be to get the talks started, and if this can be achieved, this fact in itself will lead to a lessening of tensions. I think it will help if the air bombing of North Vietnam is stopped, because the

only effect of such bombing is to make a bad situation worse. I hope that the North Vietnamese will also consider making a pause. The one thing that is certain beyond doubt is that the problem of Vietnam cannot be resolved through the process of armed conflict. There has to be a halt to the fighting from both sides. I hope that the call of the 17 non-aligned nations will not go unheeded because there is no other path to a peaceful settlement.

As far as India is concerned, there is nothing we want more passionately than peace. No country can give greater proof of its devotion to peace than India already has done by deciding not to go in for nuclear weapons, despite all the risks that such a decision entails. Considering the situation with which we are faced on our northern borders it would have been understandable if we had also elected to develop our considerable nuclear capacity for defence purposes, but any such step by us or by one or two other powers might well have started a race for nuclear weapons, and this is a race which once begun will hardly ever stop.

We in India are wholly pre-occupied in the gigantic task we have taken up of raising the standard of living of our people. The 460 million or so of our people constitute a sizable part of the population of the world, and anything that is done to improve their lot is of advantage to the world community itself. Despite the almost overwhelming magnitude of the task, we have sought to achieve our objectives in an environment of freedom and social justice.

To an audience as knowledgeable as this, I do not have to trace the history of our democratic experiment, or of our economic progress, or of our efforts to bring the maximum measure of social justice to all our people. In all these endeavours, we are facing trials and difficulties which make news and attract the headlines. The steady continuing progress is not so spectacular and hence is less well known. Perhaps because of its very success, our experiment of achieving development within the framework of free institutions is taken for granted. Our methods of democratic socialism, our freedom of the press and public opinion, our record of impartial and readily available justice, could be the envy of many a more developed country. And I reiterate that we remain wedded to these methods whatever may be our troubles ahead.

In a nation whose population is now rising above the 460 million mark, our aim is that in another five years every child will be able to get free schooling up to the age of 14, that there should be a minimum of medical assistance and housing for every family in the land and that every person would be able to get sufficient food and clothing. To many of you these aims seem very modest, and so they are. But to achieve even this, we have to strain ourselves to the extreme and harness every limited resource for the development of both industry and agriculture.

I often hear criticism that we are embarking on too many expensive



With the Dalai Lama of Tibet



With President Soekarno of Indonesia



With the Afghan Prime Minister, Dr Mohammad Yousuf



With Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia



With President Ben Bella of Algeria



With King Husain of Jordan



major projects which fritter away our meagre resources. It is true that we have some large projects, but in the sum total these are relatively modest. The overwhelming growth of population, particularly in the rural areas, can no longer be sustained by agriculture, however much we may improve it and it is our determination to do so. But the larger part of the increase must be catered for in industrial projects if our people are to find a decent livelihood. And as we build our own steel plants, atomic power stations, supersonic aircraft and other complicated mechanical devices we find that there is no skill or technology that we cannot master.

In the world of tomorrow, there should be prosperity all round and there should be no distinction between developed and under-developed countries. In this current development decade proclaimed by the United Nations it is, however, essential that the needs of the developing countries receive due attention.

During the two important conferences that will be taking place in the next few days, there will be a good deal of discussion amongst statesmen of the world and these will undoubtedly have beneficial results. Even more important, however, is the attitude of the common man in all the countries. If every citizen of the world is freed from want and poverty, and is given an opportunity to lead a reasonably happy life, then the present climate would definitely change for the better. That is why I would urge that the problem of raising the standards of living in the poorer countries of the world is one that admits of no delay. If our people are able to lead contented lives, if there is development of art and culture, if there is greater contact and association with the citizens of different countries, then we would have come very near to the goal we all seek to reach — world free from the fear of war and one at peace with itself.

Once again, Mr. President, may I thank you and your members for the hospitality you have so warmly extended to us.

8. NO NUCLEAR UMBRELLA FOR INDIA

QUESTION : What is your attitude to the offers of 'nuclear umbrella' for India ?

Answer: I do not think that there has been any such offer made and I would also like to make it clear that I had never asked for 'nuclear umbrella' for India alone. What I had said was that the major nuclear powers have to consider as to how to obviate the threat of nuclear weapons

Answers to questions posed at the luncheon hosted by the Indian Journalists' Association in London on June 17, 1965

against those countries which do not possess them. This is a matter which will have to be considered by the Disarmament Committee and the United Nations. As I said it is not one country which is involved. There are many other countries which do not possess nuclear weapons. In fact, a solution has to be found for all of them.

Question: Regarding relations with Israel?

Answer: May I say that we have recognised Israel but we have not exchanged diplomatic representatives between the two countries.

We have a Consulate for trade in India and we have decided that that should be enough for the time being.

Question: Have you already received President Johnson's renewed invitation for visiting Washington when you stated in Ottawa the other day that a visit this fall would not be possible? Would you consider a visit to Washington at some other time?

Answer: What has appeared in some of the newspapers is not correct at all—that I have cancelled my visit or rejected the request of President Johnson. In fact, I had sent my reply from Delhi itself and I had merely said that it would not be possible for me to visit the United States during autumn because we will be having our session of the Parliament then. Of course, I have enforced no ban on myself visiting the United States and whenever it is convenient and appropriate I would certainly like to go.

Question: What initiative can the Commonwealth take to get both the United States and China to agree to negotiate a settlement on Vietnam?

Answer: Well, I think you will agree that we have not yet begun discussing this matter in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. We might be discussing it this afternoon and perhaps tomorrow morning. It will be premature.

Question: What do you think this Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference can usefully do about Southern Rhodesia?

Answer: This is another delicate question and it would be advisable that it is left for discussion first in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. As you are aware there are different views on this matter and it will be much better that the members of the Commonwealth Conference should have a discussion amongst themselves first and try to iron out their differences.

Question: Can you foresee the circumstances in which India would make nuclear weapons?

Answer: I do not know why you should be so anxious to know when we will be able to make nuclear weapons. It is much better that no such eventuality arises in which India will have to make nuclear weapons. We have to work for the elimination of nuclear weapons rather than make them.

Question: Do you welcome an increased British military commitment East of Suez? What do you feel is its principal value?

Answer: I do not think this needs any comment from me. I would leave it to our British friends to consider and decide about it.

Question: Could you say a few words about relations between India and Pakistan?

Answer: Our relations are still good and we want that they should remain so. Unfortunately there has been a development in the Rann of Kutch. It has greatly hurt us and hurt the feelings of our country but as you are aware an effort is being made by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to bring about some kind of an agreement on this matter between India and Pakistan. I hope and we all wish that his efforts will succeed and an agreement arrived at.

Question: In the light of the confirmed opinion that television is of utmost importance, what steps are being taken by the Government of India to develop TV in the country?

Question: What are the British Government's views about the old British maps and documents which have been taken to support the Indian position on the Rann of Kutch?

Question: Do you think there is any likelihood of a meeting between you and President Ayub in London?

Answer: I agree that we should have television system in India and we have decided very recently in the Cabinet that we should try to develop it. The matter has to be carefully examined and details, etc, drawn up.

About the British maps, etc., all the maps clearly indicate that Kutch formed part of India. Kutch was a princely State and when partition took place Sind went over to Pakistan. As far as I am aware all the British maps show and give the same indication. But as I said I would not like to go into this matter just at present because there are talks going on. As far as President Ayub is concerned I have met him this morning and we had a very happy meeting.

Question: Would the Prime Minister tell us which figures in the British or Indian politics have influenced the formation of his own career?

Answer: Indian naturally. I was tremendously impressed and influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and in fact I gave up my studies at his call in the year 1920. Since then I have been a humble worker of the Congress and have taken part in the political struggle and after the attainment of Independence I have functioned both in the U.P. Legislative Assembly as well as in Parliament. I have had the good fortune of working with Prime Minister Nehru for about 35 years and naturally I was deeply influenced by him.

Here, of course, I must say that no politician in the UK has had any special influence on me. Of course, there were great men as Prime Ministers in the U.K. But it is true that some writers and some of the authors here did create a great impact on me and had influence on my thinking. One of them was—although it may not be possible at present to agree with

him hundred per cent—Bertrand Russell. Although basically I still agree with him but as a man in politics and in administration it is not so easy to translate his theory into practice. But I must say that I have the highest admiration for him.

I would also like to say that when I was in prison I had the opportunity of reading most of the works of Prof. Laski and it helped me in becoming somewhat progressive.

In a different way I have been greatly impressed by the writings of Julian Huxley also.

I need not mention other names because there is hardly any time.

9. NON-ALIGNMENT AND PEACE VITAL FOR DEVELOPMENT

QUESTION : The conditions and problems in international relations which are in a process of permanent change bring with them some new definite qualities. In these conditions, how do you see the role of the non-aligned countries and the evolution of their policy?

How do you conceive further concrete application of the non-alignment principles in the present international situation in the world from the aspect of the Cairo Declaration?

Answer: It is true that the pattern of international relations keeps evolving continuously. Even so, the non-aligned countries have a distinct role to play. The basic object of this policy of non-alignment has always been to develop and foster an area of peace and to endeavour in every way possible to reduce tensions. The greatest possible stress has been laid on the preservation of peace. This is vital also for the political stability and economic development of many countries which have only recently achieved independence from foreign rule.

Since the initial formulation of the concept of non-alignment, many more countries have achieved independence and they have joined their predecessors in the quest for peace and in the task of improving the living standards of their people in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The non-aligned countries have a positive role to play in the world of today which is unfortunately in a state of turmoil in several spots.

You have referred to the Cairo Declaration. This Declaration gives a detailed analysis of the causes of tensions in the world and suggests steps for

the elimination of tension. Stress has been laid on the earliest possible liberation of countries still under colonial rule. The classical form of colonialism is fortunately on its way out and only Portugal remains its major champion. The nations of the world, particularly the non-aligned countries, have raised their voice against the suppression of freedom in the Portuguese colonies, and it is to be hoped very much that Portugal will soon face the realities of the situation.

Old imperialism is fast dying. We have all to work for the achievement of a world order in which all nations are truly equal and in which no nation can impose its will on others.

Question: At this moment, due to the existence of several points of acute tension, for example Vietnam, the world is passing through a phase of dangerous crisis. In your opinion what could and should be undertaken, as the most urgent step, to prevent the dangerous deterioration of international situation ?

Answer: The situation in Vietnam has caused us concern and anxiety. This issue has been debated in various forums in the world. Several suggestions have emerged but unfortunately a solution acceptable to different parties has not yet been found. I have already given expression to my views on this issue. I have nothing more to say at present. I have discussed this issue with many world statesmen, including Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Lester Pearson. I will no doubt discuss it with President Tito later. It has always been our view that there can be no military solution to the problem of Vietnam. It has to be solved on a political basis by bringing together all the interested parties so that ultimately the Vietnamese people are left alone to decide their destiny without foreign interference from any quarter. I know that peace can be achieved in that area only if all the parties concerned decide to stop war-like operations. It is the desire of all peace-loving nations to prevent an escalation of the conflict in Vietnam. They will have to exert continuously to achieve this.

Question: According to your judgement, what is most essential for the future progress of India in the economic and social sphere?

Answer: Naturally peace. Peace is the greatest guarantee for the speedy development of under-developed countries. India has always striven for peace and will spare no efforts to secure a world without war.

Question: How do you estimate the experience of the Indo-Yugoslav collaborations up to now, and where do you see the possibilities of further development of the bilateral relations?

Answer: Trade between India and Yugoslavia has been developing steadily in volume. From Rs. 46 million in 1959 it increased to Rs. 200 million in 1964. There is also greater collaboration between Yugoslavia and India in the economic and industrial fields. Yugoslavia has offered a credit of Rs. 216 million for the import of machinery and equipment

and ships. Recently, there has also been discussion between the two countries on the question of technical collaboration.

India and Yugoslavia have an identity of outlook on most international issues. The relations between the two have been marked by the utmost cordiality and friendship. I am confident that these relations will be further strengthened in future. This development is bound to be reflected in increasing economic collaboration and trade.

Question: This is your first visit to Yugoslavia, the country which is linked with India by traditional and great friendship. What do you expect from your forthcoming visit and talks in our country?

Answer: It is true that I am visiting Yugoslavia for the first time. The people of India and Yugoslavia are such good friends that I cannot but feel at home in your great country. I am looking forward very much to my visit to Yugoslavia and to my talks with President Tito, Mr. Petar Stambolic, President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia and others. Both India and Yugoslavia sincerely desire peace in the world. I, therefore, attach great importance to my forthcoming discussions with President Tito and other Yugoslav leaders.

10. SOLIDARITY WITH ARAB WORLD

ON THE GREAT historic occasion of the third Conference of the Council of the Kings and Heads of States of the Arab League, I have great pleasure in sending to the august gathering the warm and cordial good wishes of the Government and people of India for the success of the conference.

The friendly relations between the Arab World and India are historic and traditional extending over many centuries. There has always been rich and fruitful cultural exchange and ever increasing trade.

India and all member-States of the Arab League cherish the principles of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, anti-colonialism and anti-racialism. The Arab countries and India have lent each other significant support whenever forces of colonialism have attempted to reassert themselves whether in India or in the Arab World. These principles have also been the basis of close cooperation in and outside the United Nations and in other international conferences.

India, on its part, firmly adheres to this policy of friendship with the Arab countries and has every sympathy with the aspirations of the Arab

nations. At the Indo-Arab Seminar held in Delhi in February this year, several recommendations were made to strengthen Indo-Arab relations in the cultural, educational and scientific fields, and these are in the process of implementation in cooperation with the Arab League. India is happy over the fact that it is the first country outside the Arab World where the Arab League has established an independent mission.

India is also happy to note that this meeting of the Kings and Heads of States of the Arab League is taking place when, after nearly three years of strife, peace has been established in the Yemen. We are confident that peace in the Yemen will further strengthen Arab unity and make it possible for the Arab nations to play an increasingly greater role for strengthening world peace and promoting human welfare.

Please convey to their Majesties the Kings and Their Excellencies the Heads of Arab States gathered in Casablanca, the esteem and regard of the Government and the people of India. I wish them and you all success in your deliberations.

CHAPTER II

OUR NEIGHBOURS

1. CEYLON IS CLOSE TO OUR HEARTS

YOUR VISIT, Madam Prime Minister, is an event of immense pleasure to us. Ceylon is so close to us geographically and also to our hearts. We have had the honour of welcoming you here previously. You took the trouble of being here last at the time of the passing away of my great and eminent predecessor Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was so gracious of you to have come on that occasion and sympathised with us in our national loss and bereavement. I know how friendly Jawaharlalji was to Ceylon Government and to the Ceylonese people. Long before India and Ceylon got their independence, Jawaharlalji had visited Ceylon and as a fighter for freedom he was given a great welcome in your country. Everyone of us knows how close and near he was to your distinguished husband Mr. Bandaranaike. We cherish our friendship with Ceylon and it is our earnest hope that the bonds of unity will become stronger in future and that we will try to be helpful to each other. I deem it a great privilege to welcome you, Madam Prime Minister, to our country and I wish to convey to you personally and to your distinguished colleagues our happiness at your being with us.

It is very good of you, Madam Prime Minister, to have decided to visit India at this time. We have a small problem between our two countries and I know both of us believe that it should be possible to settle it. Sometimes problems may arise between two neighbouring countries but these can be settled in a friendly manner. I do not want to go into details as we will be having a series of discussions during the next few days. However,

both you and we have to make earnest efforts towards bringing about a settlement. If we agree in principle on the important aspects of this problem, the details could perhaps be easily worked out.

Our thinking on many vital problems in the international field has been common and we have worked together in cooperation in the United Nations and other international gatherings. Recently I have had the good fortune of meeting you in Cairo at the time of the Non-Aligned Conference. There was a general agreement in our approach and the conference arrived at many important and vital decisions.

Many revolutionary developments have taken place in the world since the conference ended. The recent explosion of an atom bomb by China has created a stir which is undoubtedly a matter of concern for all of us. However, we have always held the view that the use of nuclear weapons should be banned by agreement and all nations in the world should unite to save humanity from destruction. I also feel that those countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, etc., which do not possess nuclear weapons, should unite and make a concerted effort to build up necessary public opinion. This should have an impact on the countries which are in possession of nuclear weapons. I must admit that we are passing through a most difficult period in international relations and we have to act wisely and as far as possible in cooperation with each other.

I must, however, say that for our countries which have recently attained their freedom, it is most important that they should develop economically. We have to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment, of industrial and agricultural development. I know, Madam Prime Minister, you fully believe in it and are already engaged in this task. Our problems in India are enormous, but we are trying to tackle them as effectively as we can. We believe in a planned economy and we are in the midst of our Third Five Year Plan. It is our earnest effort that through the completion of our plans, we should be able to give a better and prosperous life to our men, women and children. To me sometimes many other things pale into insignificance when I realise that the difficulties of the 460 million people have to be successfully and effectively tackled. Let us hope that we will be able to wage war against poverty and unemployment and to build up a new social order. It is also essential that the under-developed countries should try to help and cooperate with each other for improving the standard of living of their people. I know you feel equally strongly on the question of peace and economic development of Asian and African countries. We all wish you well.

2. IDENTITY OF PURPOSE AND POLICY WITH AFGHANISTAN

YOUR VISIT IS most welcome to us. Afghanistan has fought for its independence and preserved it. I know yours is a freedom-loving country and that you believe in the freedom of all countries in the world. You are wholly opposed to colonialism. It is indeed regrettable that we should still have colonies in this world. There are Portuguese colonies which are a matter of shame to humanity and to all of us. We have also in our midst South Africa where something is happening which is un-understandable and unimaginable to all of us. We cannot conceive that the kind of apartheid they are observing could be possible in the present-day world.

Having attained our freedom, the most important problem for us is that of economic development, industrial progress and progress in the agricultural sector also. Our achievement in the industrial sector has been significant and I am glad that Your Excellency will get an opportunity to see something of what we have done during the last fifteen years.

Afghanistan and India have many common problems. I know your main problem is also that of economic development. We can cooperate in many matters. For instance, in the matter of training of technical personnel, we can be of help and assistance and we would be most willing to contribute our mite in this regard.

In international matters we see eye to eye with each other on almost all important problems. You believe in non-alignment and India also strongly believes in it. It was our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlalji who put forward this idea and pursued it to the end. In spite of the enormous difficulties we have had to face during the last few years, we did not deviate from this policy and I think it has paid us in many ways. We have accepted the policy of non-alignment but not with any selfish motive or purpose. It is acceptable to us because we feel that it means independence in thinking and action. It expands the sphere of peace and it helps in accepting and adopting the policy of co-existence. I know Afghanistan also believes in co-existence and it is important that in pursuance of these policies we should work for disarmament and for peace.

What the world needs most today is the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of conflicts between nations. Unfortunately the position in South-East Asia, specially in the Indochina sector, is fraught with difficulties and we have suggested that the conflict which is going on

there at the present moment should be stopped and the different parties concerned should meet and discuss amongst themselves. We have also suggested that a Geneva Conference type of meeting might be held so that there is a dialogue between the countries concerned and others who are interested. This conflict must not escalate.

The world as a whole is full of problems and difficulties and it is most important that every country which loves its freedom and wants to maintain its independence and sovereignty should work for peace and try to see that there is disarmament in the world which alone will lead to real peace.

3. A GOODWILL VISIT

SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, His Majesty the King of Nepal kindly invited me to pay a visit to Kathmandu. I went there on April 23 for a short visit of about two days. As I said in Nepal, there are no problems of any importance or consequence between our two countries; and our relations with Nepal are in a very good and healthy state. My visit to Nepal was, therefore, a goodwill visit in every sense of the phrase.

His Majesty's Government and the people of Nepal accorded us a warm and affectionate reception. This is symbolic of the friendship of the Government and the people of Nepal for our Government and people. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking His Majesty's Government for the hospitality they extended to us.

I had the opportunity of a cordial and friendly exchange of views with His Majesty and with the Chairman of His Majesty's Council of Ministers, Shri Surya Bahadur Thapa. We exchanged views on the world situation and the recent developments in Asia, and I am glad to inform the House that, as stated in the joint communique issued on the conclusion of my visit to Nepal, these talks were characterised by a "broad measure of unity and identity of purpose and approach" on all these matters. His Majesty's Government agree with us that so far as the developing countries of the world, including Nepal and India, are concerned, there is no acceptable alternative to the policies and principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, which we have pursued hitherto.

I was glad to see that Nepal is making progress in the economic, social and other spheres of her national life. I am glad to inform the House that His Majesty's Government are appreciative of the assistance which we have been able to extend. The numerous projects being constructed

in collaboration with ourselves are making rapid progress and the Government of Nepal conveyed to me their satisfaction at the speed of progress on these projects.

His Majesty the King inaugurated the Kosi Barrage on April 24 at a moving ceremony at the barrage site which was attended by a vast number of people of India as well as Nepal. This project is an impressive symbol of Indo-Nepal cooperation in removing hunger and poverty and in bringing a better and a fuller life within the grasp of our two peoples. I laid the foundation of the Kosi Canal during the same ceremony.

In conclusion, I am glad to say that I have returned from Nepal reinforced in my belief that the friendship between our two countries is lasting. Trust and sympathy are the hallmark of our relations with Nepal. Goodwill between the two countries and their peoples is plentiful, and the desire for cooperation for mutual benefit is all too evident. Because of the geographic juxtaposition of the two countries and the numerous other bonds that tie them together, the dealings between our two governments are extensive. In the course of the conduct of these relations at all levels, some minor difficulties are bound to be experienced by one side or the other, but there is no reason to think that these difficulties cannot be resolved by mutual consultation to the satisfaction and advantage of both the countries. In fact, that is happening every day. Apart from high level visits and consultations, the officials of the two countries meet practically every other month to resolve these minor difficulties as they arise and to promote and carry forward the cooperation which is vital to both the countries.

4. STRONG LOVE FOR NEPAL

THERE IS NO doubt that Indo-Nepal relations are very old. They have a history behind them and it is this history which links the past with the present. We cannot forget the past because the foundation of the present is laid on it. But time is changing. The world has seen and is passing through a great revolution. The face of the world has changed during the last ten or fifteen years. Big empires and colonies are falling. Only a few still remain. The people of these colonies are fighting against injustice and coercion to which they are subjected by the imperialist and colonial powers. But there is no doubt that they will win freedom in the end and the sympathy of both Nepal and India is with the people of those countries which are fighting for freedom.

The greatest problem before the countries that have attained freedom is how to build themselves up and how to improve the economic condition of their people. Both India and Nepal are trying to be prosperous and to make the life of the people happy. We want to make our country self-sufficient in food and in industrial and scientific products. But to be self-sufficient or self-dependent does not mean that we should be cut off from the outside world. No country can possibly do so. The world has become so small and trade and commerce have developed so much that no country can ever dream of remaining aloof from other countries.

I have talked of our relations in the past but we should also think of our relations in the present. We are living in a changed and new world and our relations which, as the Maharaja has said, are deep rooted and well established, should also be renewed and adapted to the present conditions.

We do not want to tie ourselves with any bloc or power. We want to maintain our freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of work and freedom of living as we like. We want to build a society of our own thinking. The policy of non-alignment is very necessary for developing countries. It saves the world from various kinds of conflicts on the one hand, and gives a chance to a country to develop in its own way, on the other.

I know that Nepal wants peace in the world just as India does. India's policy is a policy of peace. We want peace in our country and in the world. Different countries of the world may have different ideologies but they can have peaceful relations with other countries. India had to take up arms only in self-defence. When there is an attack on a country it has got to be defended. We still want to observe the cease-fire honestly and to cooperate in withdrawing our forces. No free country when attacked and when there is a danger to its sovereignty, can ever tolerate humiliation. Nepal, I think, would also have acted in the same manner under such circumstances.

India has a strong love for Nepal and will always try to see that the prestige and honour of Nepal is enhanced. We believe that your visit to this country will strengthen our mutual friendly relations.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

1. CHINA'S ATOMIC BLAST

IHAVE RECEIVED your letter of the 27th of October, 1964, on the atomic explosion conducted by China the previous day, along with a statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic.

Your Excellency's letter and the statement repeat the same arguments and make the same proposal which you made in July-August 1963 when the nations of the world were preparing to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which Your Excellency's Government refused to subscribe to.

As you are aware, over a hundred nations have since adhered to that Treaty and the international community has repeatedly hailed the Treaty as a significant landmark in the quest of humanity for general and complete disarmament. The cessation of atmospheric test explosions, which followed, also reduced radio-activity in the atmosphere and consequently the hazards to health which these explosions were inflicting on the innocent inhabitants of the earth. This was the first time in the history of mankind that the peoples of the world took a concrete step towards the ultimate objective of a disarmed world. Since then, the international community has taken several steps in that direction, particularly towards non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and limitation of the arms race by reducing the production of fissionable material for the purpose of weapons. I regret to note that the Government of the People's Republic

of China has not only denied its cooperation in this common endeavour of the peoples of the world for progress towards the elimination of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament, but has also placed serious obstacles to it. Whatever the political or military considerations, the nuclear explosion conducted at Lop Nor on the 16th of October in total defiance of the opinion of the nations of the world and in complete disregard of the health of its innocent inhabitants is a development that the people all over the world must regard as retrograde and deplorable.

Your Excellency has proposed "that a summit conference of all countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other". As I said earlier, this proposal is similar to the one Your Excellency made when the Government of the People's Republic of China refused to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. My predecessor then replied to Your Excellency at some length. He said that general and complete disarmament covering conventional weapons and forces, as well as nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, was the most urgent and the most vital objective of the peoples of the world. Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty, it was necessary that immediate and positive steps, embracing measures of arms control and limitation and reduction of the risks of war, be taken to reduce international tension and build up confidence. The international community had been seized of the problem and the United Nations and the Disarmament Committee had been dealing with the entire gamut of the problems of disarmament and of a disarmed world. My predecessor then enumerated the steps which had already been taken and were being taken by the international community in this regard. He made particular reference to the stoppage of nuclear weapons tests in respect of which an international treaty had just been entered into. He drew attention to the fact that Your Excellency was one of the signatories of the Bandung declaration, which stated *inter alia* that "pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the conference appealed to all powers concerned to reach an agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons". He hoped that the People's Republic of China, in harmony with the majority of the countries of the world, would subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which was not only a step towards general and complete disarmament but also of great significance in saving humanity from the death-dealing fall-out resulting from explosions in the atmosphere.

I regret to say that Your Excellency's Government has belied this hope and ignored the appeal of the peoples of the world. The radio-

active fall-out from the Chinese explosion has traversed the atmosphere of the globe, spreading its unhealthy debris over the peoples of the world. It has also given a set-back to the efforts being made by the international community to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to bring the world nearer to its goal of general and complete disarmament.

In your letter last year, Your Excellency had ignored conventional disarmament. This particular aspect of the matter cannot be absent in any proposal from the People's Republic of China which has the largest army in the world, not including millions of armed men in the Chinese militia. In your last letter, Your Excellency had also proposed a Summit Conference which was to consider the question of prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons and of taking certain measures as initial steps. These initial steps included the establishment of nuclear-free zones, including one which would cover China, and bind her to refraining from the export or import of nuclear weapons or technical data for their manufacture, and the cessation of all nuclear tests. This time Your Excellency has omitted these suggestions as the People's Republic of China, in complete disregard of its own proposals, has now established China as a nuclear weapons zone rather than a non-nuclear zone and conducted a nuclear weapons test explosion. Now Your Excellency only suggests that the step to be taken should be that nuclear powers should not use nuclear weapons. There is no reference to the non-manufacture of weapons, the non-possession of weapons or the non-testing of weapons.

In the reply we had sent to your last communication, we had pointed out that the problems of general and complete disarmament, including nuclear and conventional arms were highly complicated matters requiring a lot of detailed work and were not matters which could be debated and settled at a large conference of the kind proposed by Your Excellency. By their very nature these intricate issues need to be negotiated in smaller committees and often at the level of experts, as was being done by the United Nations. We agreed that it was essential that all countries subscribed to a treaty on general and complete disarmament, but we felt that a conference of plenipotentiaries of the countries of the world could be useful only when substantial progress had been made in working out a draft treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The Government of India continue to adhere to these views, which are also the views of the majority of the nations of the world. What is needed is not declarations or exhortations but concrete and specific steps like cessation of tests, prohibition of the use of fissile material for purposes of weapons, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, reduction of large and intimidating armies, etc. In this context, I trust Your Excellency's Government will take early steps to subscribe to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and stop the production of these weapons of mass destruction.

The Government of India believe that general and complete disarmament is the most urgent and the most vital problem facing mankind today. They have for years urged that a treaty on general and complete disarmament be agreed upon as speedily as possible and have lent their full support to all measures, comprehensive or partial, preliminary or otherwise, to that end. They will continue to do so. We believe in the ultimate victory of the spirit of humanity over the glorification of war and violence to the detriment of the human race.

2. CHINESE MIGHT WILL NOT DETER US

I WANT TO inform the House that this morning we received a communication from the Chinese Government demanding that within three days we should dismantle our defence installations which, they allege, are located on their side in Tibet across the Sikkim border. I might, for the benefit of the House, read out the relevant portions of the communication:

"In its notes the Indian Government continues to resort to its usual subterfuges in an attempt to deny the intruding activities of Indian troops along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary. This attempt cannot possibly succeed. Since cease-fire and troop withdrawal were effected along the Sino-Indian border by China on her own initiative in 1962, Indian troops have never stopped their provocations, and there have been more than 300 intrusions into China either by ground or by air. The Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged protests with the Indian Government and served warnings to it and has successively notified some friendly countries. The facts are there, and they cannot be denied by the Indian Government by mere quibbling. Moreover, the Chinese Government has four times proposed Sino-Indian Joint Investigation into India's illegal construction of military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary but has each time been refused by the Indian Government. Now the Indian Government pretentiously says that the matter can be settled if only an independent and neutral observer should go to the border to see for himself. It further shamelessly asserts that Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-China boundary which has been formally delimited, and that India has not built any military works either on the Chinese side of the border or on the border itself. This is a bare-faced lie. How can it hope to deceive anyone?

"As is known to everybody, the Indian Government has long been using the territory of Sikkim against China. Since September 1962, not to mention earlier times, Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary, which was delimited long ago, and have built a large number of military works for aggression either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. There are now fifty-six such military works, large and small, which they have built in the past few years all over the important passes along the China-Sikkim boundary, thus wantonly encroaching upon China's territory and violating her sovereignty. In these years the Chinese Government has made thirteen representations to the Indian Government. But the Indian Government has all along turned a deaf ear to them and does not have the slightest respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Far from stopping its acts of aggression, the Indian Government has intensified them by ordering its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocations."

We are sending a reply to all those points. I will read out the relevant portions of our reply:

"Ever since the Sino-Indian border problem was raised by the Chinese Government, the Government of India had made strenuous attempts to settle the question peacefully and with honour. Even after the unprovoked Chinese attack across the border in October-November 1962, the Government of India consistently followed the policy of seeking a peaceful settlement honourable to both the parties concerned.

"As has been pointed out in various notes to the Chinese Government in the past, the Government of India have given strict instructions to its Armed Forces and personnel not to cross the international boundary in the Eastern and the Middle Sectors and the so-called 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector. The Government of India are satisfied after careful and detailed investigations, that Indian personnel as well as aircraft have fully carried out their instructions and have not transgressed the international boundary and the 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector at any time at any place. The Government of India are, therefore, absolutely convinced that the allegations contained in the Chinese note under reply are completely groundless. The Government of India are constrained to reject these allegations and to re-assert emphatically that they do not accept the claims to vast areas of Indian territory in the Western, Middle and Eastern Sectors of the border put forward in the Chinese note under reply. As regards China's stand on Kashmir and on the present unfortunate conflict between India and Pakistan, it is nothing but interference on the part of China calculated to prolong and to enlarge the conflict."

The background of the matter is that, in September 1962, some defence structures were constructed on the Sikkim side of the Sino-Indian frontier. These structures have not been in occupation since the cessation

of hostilities in November, 1962. Since the Chinese Government alleged that some of these structures were on their side of the border, India had in its note of September 12, 1965, gone to the extent of suggesting that an independent observer be allowed to go to this border to see for himself the actual state of affairs. The Chinese Government has not, unfortunately, accepted this reasonable proposal and has reiterated its proposal for joint inspection. We are informing the Chinese Government that their contention is entirely incorrect. Nevertheless, as an earnest of our desire to give no ground to the Chinese for making this a pretext for aggressive action we are informing them that we have no objection to a joint inspection of those points of the Sikkim-Tibet border where Indian personnel are alleged to have set up military structures in Tibetan territory. The Government of India, on their part, are prepared to arrange such an inspection as early as possible at an appropriate official level on a mutually convenient date.

We have sent a reply to the Chinese note accordingly and hope that the Chinese Government would agree to action being taken as proposed.

I know that the House would feel concerned about the intentions of the Chinese Government. We do hope that China would not take advantage of the present situation and attack India. The House may rest assured that we are fully vigilant and that if we are attacked, we shall fight for our freedom with grim determination. The might of China will not deter us from defending our territorial integrity.

3. CHINA SEEKING TO DOMINATE ASIA

I PLACE ON the Table of the House the text of a further note which was handed over to our Charge d'Affaires in Peking yesterday.

The House will recall that we had taken an attitude calculated to maintain peace when replying to the last note which we had received from the Chinese Government. It is clear from the kind of response which China has sent that what China is looking for is not redress of grievances, real or imaginary, but some excuse to start its aggressive activities again, this time acting in collusion with its ally, Pakistan. The extension of the time-limit for the ultimatum was, in our view, no more than a device to gain time to watch what comes out of the discussions in the Security Council.

The allegations which China has been making in the series of notes that it has been sending to us are such that they would hardly justify any

civilised Government having recourse to force, even if the allegations were true. If there are any structures on the Chinese territory in areas where the border is delimited and not in dispute even according to the Chinese, surely there is nothing to prevent the Chinese Government from having them removed instead of suggesting to us that we should have them removed which would only be possible by our men going into their territory. Similarly no one can imagine that any Government would threaten another on the ground that their cattle have been lifted or on the ground that out of the thousands of Tibetans who have sought asylum in this country, two or four are being detained here against their wishes.

To justify its aggressive attitude, China is pretending to be a guardian of Asian countries which, according to China, are being bullied by India. The basic objective of China, therefore, is to claim for itself a position of dominance in Asia which no self-respecting nation in Asia is prepared to recognise. Large or small, strong or weak, every country in Asia has the fullest right to preserve its independence and sovereignty on terms of equality. The dominance of the Chinese cannot be accepted by any of them. We reject China's claim to tell us anything about what we should or should not do about Kashmir which is an integral part of India. Our offer of resolving the differences over these minor matters by peaceful moves is still open.

However, China's aggressive intentions are clear from the fact that even while they have in their note extended the time-limit by 72 hours, in actual fact, they have started firing at our border posts both in Sikkim and in Ladakh. If China persists in aggression, we shall defend ourselves by all means at our disposal.

4. CHINESE FABRICATIONS

I PLACE ON the Table of the House a copy of the Security Council resolution dated September 20, 1965, relating to the current conflict between India and Pakistan, a conflict which commenced on August 5, 1965, when Pakistan launched a massive attack on India by sending thousands of armed infiltrators across the cease-fire line into our State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Security Council had demanded that both the Governments should order a cease-fire, effective from 12.30 p.m. Indian Standard Time today, September 22, 1965. On the question of cease-fire, the views of the Govern-

ment of India were stated in detail and without any ambiguity in my letter of September 14 and 15, 1965, addressed to the Secretary-General. As stated in these letters, the Government of India had clearly accepted that they would order a cease-fire without any pre-conditions on being informed that Pakistan had agreed to do the same. On receiving the Security Council resolution, therefore, we sent a communication to the Secretary-General, in accordance with our earlier stand, informing him that we would be prepared to issue orders for a simple cease-fire effective from the appointed time and date, provided Pakistan agreed to do likewise.

Throughout yesterday, there was no further message from the Secretary-General but in the early hours of this morning we received a message from him advising us to order a unilateral cease-fire in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Security Council resolution, with the provision that our troops could fire back if they were attacked. This, of course, was entirely impossible. In a battle which is continuing, it is just not possible for one side to ask its soldiers to stop firing, leaving the other side free to continue its operations. Our representative at the United Nations was, therefore, instructed to inform the Secretary-General accordingly.

A further report was received a short while ago that at the request of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan an emergency meeting of the Security Council was convened, at which an announcement was made on behalf of Pakistan that they also had agreed to issue orders for a cease-fire and cessation of hostilities. From our side the requisite orders are now being issued to our field commanders to effect a complete cease-fire by 3.30 a.m. tomorrow.

The Security Council resolution refers to other matters which will require consideration subsequently. However, the policy of the Government of India in regard to matters which are of vital importance to us and which relate to the present conflict, has been stated by me on more than one occasion on the floor of this House and also in my recent communications to the Secretary-General.

There will now be cessation of hostilities. Peace is good. However, there is still a threat from the Foreign Minister of Pakistan which he held out today while speaking in the Security Council. We have, therefore, to be very watchful and vigilant.

The nation has recently been going through its greatest trial. The times have been difficult but they have served a great purpose. The whole world knows now that the people of India—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and others—constitute a united nation with a determined common will and purpose. On the battle-front, the supreme sacrifice has been made by members of all communities who have shown that they are Indians first and Indians last.

To our Armed Forces, I would like to pay on behalf of this Parliament and the entire country our warmest tributes. By their valour and

heroism they have given a new confidence to the people of India. Those who have lost their beloved on the battle-front have made a contribution to the preservation of our independence which will never be forgotten by a grateful nation. Their sorrow and their pride are shared by the whole country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would now seek your permission to express to all the members of this august House, to all the political parties in the country, to the leaders of public opinion, of labour organisations, of business and industry, and of many other voluntary associations, my feelings of the deepest gratitude. In the hour of trial, each one of the 470 million people of this country stood shoulder to shoulder to meet the challenge to our freedom.

I would like to inform the House that on September 18, 1965, I received a message from Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, USSR, offering his good offices for bringing about improved relations between India and Pakistan. Mr. Kosygin is impelled by noble intentions. No one can ever contest the view that ultimately India and Pakistan will have to live together as peaceful neighbours. We cannot, therefore say no to any efforts which may help to bring about such a situation made by those who are sincere and genuine in their feelings of goodwill and friendship. I have, therefore, informed Mr. Kosygin that we would welcome his efforts and good offices.

I would also like to give the House some further details about the tragic accident in which, the other day we suffered a grievous loss. Investigations conducted on the spot show that the aircraft in which Shri Balavant-ray Mehta was travelling, was shot down by a Pakistani plane. The marks on the fuselage establish that gunfire had been used. Preliminary investigations by the Air Force authorities, who also have visited the scene, confirm that the aircraft was shot down at a low height. The ammunition recovered at the site of the crash also proves that the attacking aircraft was a Pakistani plane. That a non-combatant civilian aircraft should have been shot down in this manner is one of the most inhuman acts which we must all deplore and condemn. Shri Balavantrayji, his wife and the others who were travelling with him have laid down their lives at the altar of the freedom of the country. Their names will remain enshrined in our memory.

We are, Sir, still faced with the Chinese ultimatum. The House is aware that almost at the same time when the Chinese Government announced the extension of the time-limit of the ultimatum to India by 72 hours on September 19, their troops started provocative activities at several points of the border. On the Sikkim border, about which the Chinese have been making progress and threatening allegations, the Chinese troops crossed the well-known and delimited boundary at Dongchui La and Nathu La on September 20 and 21 respectively. They fired at our obser-

vation posts. They have tried also to intrude into our other territories. Our Armed Forces have clear instructions to repel the aggressor.

Yesterday we sent a reply to the Chinese note of September 20 in which India was alleged to have intruded into Dum Chale and committed armed provocation. The Chinese charge was rejected as a fabrication and cover-up for the intrusion and firing at Tsaskur.

On September 19, the Chinese Government sent us a note couched in unbecoming language, extending the period of the ultimatum making demands for destruction of military structures etc. Regarding the so-called military structures, we have already told the Chinese Government that if, after joint inspection, any structures are found on the Tibetan side of the border, there can be no objection to their being demolished. I have been told that China has announced that some of these so-called structures have been destroyed by our troops while withdrawing. All this is a product of their imagination.

I must tell the House that we view with grave concern the Chinese activities on the border and the armed intrusions into our territory. We have urged the Chinese Government in our note of September 21, replying to the Chinese note of September 19, to forsake the path of belligerence and intimidation and to return to the path of peace and reason in its relations with India. I hope that even at this late hour China will respond to this call and prevent a major crisis.

We do not, however, know what the Chinese will do next. We have to remain vigilant all along the frontier.

These are times of the greatest trial for the nation but the people all over the country are now in that mood which alone ensures the preservation of the country's freedom. We may have to face many ups and downs, but I know the people have steeled themselves into a resolve to meet even this bigger challenge. On our Armed Forces there may be a heavier responsibility. I have no doubt that they are in good spirits. We have no intention of under-estimating the gravity of the situation. But we have resolved firmly to meet this challenge to our freedom.

A PATTERN OF GLOBAL COOPERATION

1. INDIA AND KUWAIT

KUWAIT AND INDIA have maintained the best of relations and it is a matter of gratification for us that His Highness the Amir of the State of Kuwait has made it a point to visit India and be here every year during the period of Ramzan. During the last few years, Kuwait has made great progress. You are one of the richest countries of the world. I am told that the per capita income or the average income of Kuwait is higher than that even of the city of New York. Unfortunately we are not in that happy position. We are struggling to change the face of our country. We are very big no doubt but our problems are bigger still.

However, we are going ahead with courage and determination. My predecessor, our great Prime Minister, late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, laid the foundation of the economic development of our country. We are treading the same path and I do hope that we will be in a position to bring about a radical change in our present conditions. We are a democracy and function through democratic methods. Our pace may be a bit slow but we are making steady progress. The industrial development in our country during the last decade has been, if I might use that word, 'phenomenal' and our effort is to bring about a new social order in which poverty and unemployment will have no place. The trade relations between Kuwait and India have been of great value both for Kuwait as well as for us and we do hope that these will further expand. Discuss-

sions are going on here in India in regard to collaboration in certain very big projects. I do hope that those discussions will succeed and we will participate in joint ventures fruitful for us as well as for Kuwait.

I must say Kuwait has been very generous in respect of those who have gone from India and have established themselves there. There are, as Your Highness told me, about 20,000 Indians in Kuwait and they have complete freedom of occupation and can join any profession they like.. You were good enough to ask for some technical personnel from our country, like doctors, engineers and others. We have been able to give some of them and we would, indeed, be happy if we can be of further assistance to your country. We feel very happy for the treatment which Your Highness and your Government have been giving to the Indian citizens. It speaks very highly of you, Sir, as well as of the Government of Kuwait.

I am very happy that Your Highness has come here and you will be able to visit some other parts of India. Your visit is very short. I very much wish that it had been somewhat longer. However, even during this short period Your Highness will be able to see something of our past and also something of our new developments. May I once again thank Your Highness for your kind visit. We will continue to work for peace in the world and it is a happy augury that we see eye to eye with each other on many important and vital matters. I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the fact that it was Kuwait which was amongst the first few countries who lent us full support at the time of the Chinese aggression. I must express my sincere thankfulness for the same.

2. INDIA AND THE U.K.

IT IS FOR the first time that I am meeting you in your own country but you are no strangers to me. I have met some of you earlier in my capacity as India's Minister of Commerce and Industry, and I know others, by their reputation. All of you I know collectively as friends and well-wishers of India in her objectives of industrialisation and economic development.

The ties between India and Britain are many and have been in existence for a long time but their nature has been changing. In fact, their strength lies in their capacity to change. The political relationship between the two countries has undergone a major transformation and has become, as a result, one of enduring friendship. In the economic sphere too changes have been taking place, changes which are as welcome to us

as they are, I hope, to you. In the past, Britain was a major exporter of textiles to India, while India exported cotton to Britain. Today India is an importer of cotton and exporter of textiles. The textiles which we export to this country pay for our imports of plant and machinery of a more sophisticated kind than we used to import in the past. In the past the jute mills and the tea gardens stood out as the kind of development projects into which British technology and finance went. Today the steel plant at Durgapur, the Heavy Electricals Project at Bhopal, oil refineries and heavy engineering works attract attention as symbols of Indo-British cooperation. The readiness with which the British people have responded and adapted themselves to changing conditions is to my mind a tribute not only to their wisdom but also to the genuine friendship which has always existed between the peoples of India and Britain and which is now much more in evidence.

Many of you know India well. There is not too much that I can tell you this evening which will not be known to most of you already. Ever since Independence we have been engaged in a fight against poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy. In 1951, we embarked on our First Five Year Plan and today we are approaching the end of the Third Plan. During the First Plan, our national income rose by 18 per cent and during the Second Plan by another 20 per cent. Despite the increase in population the per capita income in the first decade of planning went up by 18 per cent. We have made considerable progress in the spread of education in our country and illiteracy is being progressively reduced. The most popular course of study in the country today is technology of all kinds and may I, when speaking of it, thank the British people in general and the Federation of British Industries in particular for the fine technical institute that they have helped in establishing in Delhi. Many of the epidemic diseases like malaria have been virtually eradicated. The average life span of an Indian has gone up from less than 30 years before Independence to over 40 years now. There are other signs of progress, of improvement in the lot of the common man. The sale of bicycles has gone up more than ten-fold. In the past sugar was not an article of daily diet for the vast majority of Indian people. Today a much larger proportion of our population can afford and demand this article of food, as well as adequate supplies of wheat and rice in preference to coarse grains. This rise in the standards of consumption, welcome as it is, creates new problems.

In the recent past, the food situation in India has been a matter of concern for us as well as our friends outside. The acute difficulties of the last few months, however, are now beginning to disappear. We are looking forward to good crops and even bumper crops in many parts of the country and we are launching a special drive to increase the production of foodgrains as a long-term answer to our growing needs. This increase can come about through raising the productivity of every

acre of land, through better irrigation, more fertilisers, improved seeds and techniques. On all these we are bestowing special attention. Although the progress which we have achieved since Independence is not inconsiderable, the fact remains that the average income of an Indian even today is only about 25 pounds per annum. Even this is distributed so unevenly that people in the rural areas have a much lower income on an average. Clearly then we cannot rest content with the rate of our progress. We have, if anything to redouble our efforts and in this task, the help and cooperation, which we receive from other countries can make a truly crucial contribution.

Britain is one of the countries which has been helping us in our development. I am thinking now not merely of the aid which your Government has been generously giving us from year to year through the World Bank Consortium. I am thinking also of many other things, things which we appreciate and value. First and foremost, there is the duty free treatment of our export to Britain. This has helped us tremendously and if only all the industrialised countries in the world were to allow the exports of developing countries to come to them without duties and without restrictions perhaps much less of aid will be necessary. Unfortunately, today this long tradition of duty free entry has been interrupted by Britain's financial difficulties. We know that Britain is facing a serious balance of payments problem. At the same time I hope, and indeed expect, that the payments difficulties that the developing countries of the Commonwealth and particularly India are facing would be appreciated. While you can, and I know you will, get out of your present difficulties in a matter of weeks or months, for us it is a problem of years before we can say that we have no balance of payments problem. Against this background, I cannot but express the hope that the present impositions on our exports to Britain will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment.

I feel confident that Indo-British economic relationship which is so close and of such long standing will develop further in the years to come. British capital both public and private has played a notable role in the development of our economy. Our export earnings, though they have risen considerably in recent years, are still far from adequate and there is a serious gap in our external resources, which has to be faced. It is here that further investment of British capital in India will be of great and timely assistance. I would like to express the hope that such investment would be forthcoming. British investment in India, large as it was in the years before Independence, has continued to increase in the years that have followed. What has been even more satisfactory to us is that British investors, as a rule, have come forward with proposals which take due account of the changed circumstances and policies. They have diverted their attention increasingly to manufacturing industries with a high degree of technology in which we particularly need capital and

know-how. They have also invested in partnership with the Government of India, because in Indian conditions the Government itself has to initiate new developments in many fields.

Shortage of foreign exchange hampers new development and we are particularly short of sterling. All the sterling that we earn by exports or get as capital inflow from this country cannot pay for all that we wish to import from this country for traditional or technical reasons. The shortage of sterling sometimes affects the efficiency even of existing industrial units which need British supplies and replacements. This point has been clearly seen by the Director-General of the Federation of British Industries, Sir Norman Kippings, and it was his intervention that led to a special arrangement to meet this particular need.

I do not wish to say more about the need for additional investment in India. You may, however, like to know what the policy of the present Government is in regard to foreign capital. You would be well aware that shortly after Independence, my distinguished predecessor, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, made a statement on this subject of private foreign capital in India and the policy which he then enunciated still holds good fully. In that statement he had observed: Indian capital needs to be supplemented by foreign capital, not only because our national savings will not be enough for the rapid development of the country on the scale we wish but also because in many cases scientific, technical and industrial knowledge and capital equipment can best be secured along with foreign capital.

India is passing today through a phase which every developing country must necessarily go through. We are faced with many problems but these are the problems of a growing country. Our efforts have been strengthened greatly by friendly assistance from abroad. Our ultimate objective is to stand on our own feet but for some more time to come we have to depend upon assistance from abroad. We have to keep up the tempo of our economic development and we have indeed to accelerate it. Our population is growing and for some years to come, it is inevitable that the death rate will fall faster than the birth rate. Unless increase in our production, agricultural and industrial, is faster than the increase in our population, the average Indian will get poorer rather than richer from day-to-day. And that is why in our present thoughts about the Fourth Plan we feel that we must accelerate the rate of our growth. And in this great endeavour of bettering the standard of living of our people we seek the cooperation of all countries, especially of those who know and understand India.

3. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN U.K.

A WIDE RANGE of subjects came up for discussion during my meetings with Mr. Harold Wilson and several of his Cabinet colleagues. We exchanged views fully and frankly in a friendly and informal atmosphere.

There was no formal agenda for discussions. However, some of the topics on which there was an exchange of views were as follows:

- (i) The complex international situation as seen from Delhi and London, particularly the difficult situations in South-East Asia, South Asia and Africa.
- (ii) Problems of peace, disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the United Nations, the proposal regarding the multilateral force, freedom for the remaining colonies and programmes of assistance to developing countries.
- (iii) The balance of payments problem of the U. K.
- (iv) India's programmes of development and India's defence needs.

As the House knows I had not gone to the United Kingdom with any specific requests or proposals. The exchange of views was, however, useful. The Prime Minister of the U.K. and his colleagues stressed the importance of having frequent opportunities at various levels to exchange views in an informal manner so as to understand one another's point of view even if no agreement could be reached on certain specific matters. They felt that in the complex and difficult world situation personal discussions of this nature would help the larger interest of world peace and disarmament and assist the promotion of economic and social progress, particularly in the developing countries.

One of the matters which is of special importance for India and which has attracted much attention in the U.K. also is that of the recent explosion of a nuclear device by China and its impact on the nuclear policy of the Government of India. Our views on this question are well known. India is determined to pursue the path of peace and to work for the elimination of the nuclear menace which faces mankind today. The non-nuclear countries in particular have to give serious thought to this matter and the Government of India are already in touch with several other governments on this question. Equally, it is the responsibility of the great nuclear powers, particularly the USA and the USSR, to think of concrete steps for the elimination of the threat that overhangs mankind. We must not forget that the nuclear danger is a menace to the people of the whole world. Our views were stated categorically and they were welcomed.

4. INDIA AND FRANCE

INDIA AND FRANCE have a very old relationship and have always remained friends. There was a time when some parts of India were under French rule. The whole country was under British rule. We fought for our freedom and I must say that the British parted with great grace and we attained our Independence. I must also compliment the French Government for the way they gave up their colonies in India. Since then our bonds have become even stronger and we have come much closer to each other.

Since Independence, our main problem has been the economic development of our country. We have made considerable progress, but we have still to go very far. We are a poor country and we have to do our utmost to raise the living standards of our people. We want to build up a new social order in which every man and woman will get the basic necessities of life. We believe in socialism and we do not want any monopolies in our country. In fact, we desire an equitable distribution of our national wealth.

We love democracy and we have a very large adult franchise in our country. We have had three elections, perhaps the biggest elections in the world, if I may say so, in which millions of people have exercised their franchise. These elections have been peaceful and it has shown that democracy has got a strong foothold in India. We have as our objective democracy as well as a radical economic change so that we have political, social and economic freedom. In this process of development, France has also been very helpful in trade and commerce. We do hope that there will be further expansion and we greatly welcome the cooperation and collaboration we have received from France in connection with different projects and industries.

In international matters, we believe in peace and disarmament. I know France also believes in these objectives and both of us have to work for these objectives. It is important that countries holding different views should live together. That is why we laid the utmost stress on peaceful co-existence. It is equally important that there should be reduction in conventional arms and the question of total disarmament should be earnestly pursued. It is much more important that the development of nuclear devices should come to a stop and every effort should be made for the elimination of nuclear weapons. This is important if civilisation and humanity are to survive.

5. INDIA AND RESURGENT AFRICA

DURING THE LAST 30 or 40 years, the world has seen a great change, a revolutionary change. We were some time back colonies of the British Empire or of some other countries. The end of the First World War created a new awakening amongst the Asian countries and India was the first country to start a great movement against the then British Empire. We adopted a new method and a new technique in our struggle for freedom.

We carried on this agitation and then after about 27 years and at the end of the Second World War we got our freedom. Since then almost all the Asian countries which were under subjection started becoming free and they became independent. It has been a very happy feature indeed but the story would have remained incomplete if this urge for freedom and independence was not to manifest itself in the African Continent. During the last 10 or 12 years, there has been a great resurgence of freedom movement in Africa and one after the other the African countries have become free.

It is a matter of sincere gratification that almost all the countries in Asia and Africa are free today and are trying to shape their own destinies as they consider best for themselves and for their people. It is unfortunate that there are still countries in Africa which remain as colonies. Naturally our thoughts go to the people of Angola and Mozambique and also Southern Rhodesia. The sufferings of the people are immense and there is absolutely no sympathetic chord ever felt or realised amongst the Portuguese in so far as the freedom struggle of these colonies is concerned.

South Africa is another country which is almost retrograde. We do feel that the fight against colonialism and *apartheid* should continue and every country must lend its full support to the colonies and to those who are fighting against the wrong policies of South Africa. Colonialism of course is now reduced in extent and yet there are hard nuts to crack.

I know you are one of those who have always stood against colonialism and who are also today lending full support to the people of the colonies who are fighting for their freedom. I need not say that both India and Uganda have the same stand and the same approach in regard to this particular matter. The world will not live in peace if colonialism persists. Therefore, I think it is the bounden duty of all those countries which have achieved their freedom to fight against colonialism and see to it that it comes to an end fully and completely.

I know Uganda and India believe in the policies of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. As you are aware, our great and distinguished leader, Pandit Jawaharlalji, was instrumental in evolving these policies. Things are changing fast in the world and yet the more we examine it the more we find that the policies of non-alignment and co-existence are the

best in the present situation and specially for those countries which have attained their independence during the last few years and which have yet to build up their economy and their country as a whole. Besides that, in order to achieve peace in the world it is desirable that different ideologies and different patterns of Government should be allowed to co-exist and it will just not be possible to have some kind of regimentation in thinking and approaches to different and various problems. Peaceful co-existence is vital and important for maintaining peace in the world. And non-alignment certainly limits the sphere of conflict and non-aligned countries can play an important role in limiting the conflicts which exist in the world at present and also the clashes which take place sometime in different parts of the world.

Non-alignment gives you freedom to think and work on your own lines and peaceful co-existence provides full opportunity for different ideologies and different patterns of Government to function in different countries.

I am glad that you in your country have adopted a very fair and liberal policy in so far as immigrants to Uganda are concerned. You have in your Constitution provided equal rights and opportunities for all who live there. As a policy we have always advised the people of Indian origin who have established themselves in other countries to become citizens of those countries and throw their lot with the people and the Government of the country where they live in. I have every hope that in other countries the same policy which you have pursued would be adopted. As far as possible, we have to fight racism, and it would be really good if different races and religions live in peace and in harmony whether it is India or other countries of the world.

6. INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA have had very old relationships. They had come closer to each other long long back, I mean about a century ago. It was in Czechoslovakia that quite a large number of people learnt Sanskrit and propagated it in other European countries. Professor Lense came to India and delivered lectures at Santiniketan, a great scholar of Sanskrit as he was. Our distinguished poet and one of the greatest figures India has produced, Shri Rabindranath Tagore, went to Pragu twice and delivered speeches there. Our late Prime Minister, one of greatest sons of India, also visited Czechoslovakia twice. We have during the last ten or fifteen years grown closer and have come nearer.

The trade between the two countries has doubled and we have had a number of collaborations in various fields of industry. Your contribution of about a hundred million dollars for the setting up of heavy industries is something for which we are exceedingly thankful. I am glad you would be going to Ranchi and seeing some of the plants which have come up or are coming up with your help and cooperation, specially the heavy machine building plant. You would also be going to Bangalore where you will see some other industries which we have built up—the heavy machine tools plant, the Indian Telephone Industries and others. You will get some idea of what progress we have made in the industrial field.

I know that Czechoslovakia has made tremendous progress during the last 15 years. We know what devastation took place during the war in your country. It is indeed remarkable the way you have built up a new Czechoslovakia. Your country is one of the most highly industrialised countries in the world. And I have no doubt that it will continue to progress not for itself but with a view to helping and assisting the other countries. We are a country which is under-developed and it has remained under-developed because we were not free. Since the attainment of our independence we have been trying to build up our country economically. Our effort is to help the common man, the weaker section of our community. We want to build up a new social order and bring about transformation in our rural areas and also in smaller towns and cities. We are generally in agreement on important international matters. We stand by the principle of peaceful co-existence. We both fully agree with the objective that different countries having different patterns of Government and holding different views should live peacefully amongst themselves. The differences should not come in the way of peaceful co-existence. In this world, there are bound to be differences in approach between different countries and different peoples. It would, therefore, be not at all correct that there should be an effort to bring about some kind of regimentation. I greatly welcome your approach towards peaceful co-existence.

What the world needs today is disarmament and peace. We have to work for disarmament so that peace is maintained and there are no wars and conflicts.

Just now we are faced with a difficult situation in South Vietnam and I know you entirely agree with us that there should be cessation of hostilities in South Vietnam and there should be talks and discussions between the countries concerned. I have every hope that with the efforts of all the countries who want peace, there would be a satisfactory development in South-East Asia and especially in South Vietnam. The parties concerned there should meet and try to end the conflict. It is a very delicate situation and therefore every effort has to be made to see that there is no escalation of the present clash and conflict.

I know we attach the highest importance to the United Nations. It is the hope of the world and in spite of its shortcomings it has done tremendous service. It would be a mistake to think in terms of some other world organisation. And I consider it essential that the present United Nations should be further strengthened. If there are differences on certain matters they will have to be settled by discussions and persuasion.

7. INDIA AND CANADA

MR. PRIME MINISTER and friends: As one belonging to one of the oldest countries of the old world, I feel a particular thrill in setting foot for the first time in the new world of which your country is such an illustrious example. It is especially fitting that my first visit to the continent of North America should be to this great and hospitable country of Canada. Our two countries, Canada and India, are so apart geographically and are separated by thousands of miles of land and sea. Yet we find ourselves very near each other drawn together by ties of sentiments and friendship. In this new land of yours, as well as in our ancient land, we set the highest store on freedom and democratic ideals which we both deeply cherish. Hardly less do we value the preservation and maintenance of world peace and the avoidance of war and conflict. Our two countries have co-operated together in so many peace-keeping operations and we shall continue to do so in the future as well.

Canada has been helping us generously forward in our efforts for economic development and a better life for our people. The Canada Dam, the Canada Power House, the Canada-India Reactor in our country are forging still closer links between us. I was, therefore, all the more eager to visit this great country with which we feel we had so much in common. This wish has been gratified in full measure today, thanks to your kind invitation, Mr. Prime Minister. In the course of the next few days I shall look forward to seeing a small portion of this vast and varied country and moving about amongst its friendly people. I am sure that this visit and our forthcoming talks will help us both to play a more effective role in the present disturbed international situation and strengthen still further the bonds of Canadian-Indian friendship.

8. COOPERATION FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS

M R. PRIME MINISTER, Members of the Cabinet, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am extremely happy to be in Canada. When we in India think of Canada, we think not of the long physical distance that separates the two countries, but of the strong ties of friendship and mutual regard which have brought us so close and which bind us together. From the earliest days of our freedom struggle we noted with admiration the rapid evolution of your country into a sovereign State and your steadfast devotion to the ideals of Parliamentary Democracy. There is a great deal about your country, your people and your policies which are admired by the people of India. Our association has been marked by cooperation not only in the councils of the Commonwealth but in the United Nations and in other international bodies and organisations. Canada and India have shared with other peace-loving nations the responsibility in many an area to safeguard peace. We have done so in the Congo and in the Middle East. We have been associated together in trying to implement the Geneva Agreements on Indochina and to help in the preservation of peace in a sensitive area of the world. We have thus functioned closely together with each other in the international field. We are deeply appreciative of the generous assistance which you have given to us with sympathy and understanding. Between our two countries has developed over the years great understanding and goodwill. We greatly value our relations with Canada and I hope that in the coming years these will be further consolidated and strengthened to our mutual advantage.

Just a year ago there fell on me the heavy responsibility of carrying on the great task and the unfinished work of our beloved leader and noble son of India, the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Twice during his tenure of office he visited Canada at your invitation and I recollect the great affection that he had for Canada and her people.

Canada is a highly developed country and we as friends are happy that the people of Canada have attained such a high standard of living. Our journey in India in that direction has just commenced. Our problems are of stupendous magnitude. Not only do we face the problem of eradicating poverty, ignorance and disease, but we have to build up a modern nation, following the methods of science and technology. We have a great deal of leeway to make up. The neglect of centuries has got to be repaired within a few decades. Our people, like the people of developing countries everywhere, are today legitimately anxious to secure an improvement in their living standards. They might even get impatient tomorrow. We have, therefore, to progress and develop in a hurry. Our economic development is and ought to be very largely a product of

our own endeavours. Our Third Five Year Plan for economic development will soon be completed and during the period of this Plan and the preceding two we have succeeded in laying firm foundations of a modern industrial economy. We are determined to go ahead at an accelerated pace, and the people of India are cooperating with the Government in this massive endeavour.

The Government of Canada have taken a keen interest in the success of the tremendous task which we have undertaken of building up a new India in which social and economic justice will prevail and higher standards of living will be attained by India's millions. I would like to express here the thanks of our Government and our nation for the splendid way in which Canada has extended its sympathy and assistance to us. Over the last 15 years Canadian grants and loans have totalled some 400 million dollars. We wish to thank you and your country, Mr. Prime Minister, for this assistance.

We seem to be living, Mr. Prime Minister, in a period of world history when great changes are taking place. There is much in the world today which is encouraging and which gives promise of peace and plenty. On the other hand there is much that gives rise to fear of extreme violence and disruption. While the last decade has seen remarkable developments in the sphere of international cooperation, it is also true that the world today lives under the shadow of the fear of a terrible nuclear holocaust. There is a serious danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons. More powers want to acquire nuclear weapons. We, on our part, have taken a decision not to be diverted from our peaceful objectives and to use our considerable nuclear technical know-how and skill for peaceful purposes only.

In this great new world of science and technology that has developed, a world in which the destructive power of nations surpasses anything that existed ever before, the prime needs of the hour are peace and disarmament. We wholeheartedly subscribe to the ideal of general and complete disarmament and within the limitations and difficulties inherent in the problem of disarmament, we are making our contribution at the Disarmament Committee in Geneva. I am confident that our two countries will work together closely in the field of disarmament.

Your Excellencies, I want you to know how anxious India is that world peace must be preserved and safeguarded. We cannot afford to have our attention distracted from the task of national reconstruction, and we want very earnestly to avoid strife and tension. But in the world that we live in, it will be a mistake to take peace for granted. Forces keep emerging at one place now and at another later which tend to disrupt stability and orderliness. These forces do not seem to recognise that the only alternative to peaceful co-existence is war and destruction. Each nation must be free to develop its economy and polity according to its own genius.

without any interference from outside and without any attempts at subversion. Indeed, all those who stand for peace and who respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations must meet the challenges that are thrown up from time to time. We are fully aware that Canada is foremost amongst the countries that are passionately devoted to peace. You are willing to look at events and developments with great objectivity. I have no doubt that both India and Canada can cooperate even more fully in the years to come in the positive task of the preservation of world peace. I know, Mr. Prime Minister, how ardently devoted you are to the cause of peace and how fervently you believe in the ideals of the United Nations. Towards the attainment of these noble objectives I extend to you and to your countrymen the wholehearted support of India and the Indian people. Let us pledge our friendship and our unity to the forces of international harmony and goodwill.

I now want to thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for the very kind words you have said about India and for your warm hospitality. The memories of this visit we shall cherish for a long time to come.

May I now request Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink with me a toast to the health and happiness of Her Majesty the Queen and to the progress, prosperity and welfare of the people of Canada.

9. A MISSION OF FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE

HONOURABLE MEMBERS ARE aware that during this summer I visited the USSR, Canada and Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Governments of those countries. I also availed of President Nasser's invitation to stop over at Cairo for a day *en route* to Canada. I met him at Cairo again on my way back from London where I attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Important details of the discussions which took place during these visits have already been mentioned in the joint communiqué issued. Some of the salient features of these discussions and the impressions which I carried are given in this statement.

I left for the USSR on May 12, 1965, and returned to New Delhi on May 20, 1965. Besides Moscow, I was happy to have had the opportunity to visit Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent. We were deeply impressed by the warmth and sincerity with which the Soviet Government and people welcomed us. The visit gave us valuable opportunity of seeing the achievements of the Soviet people in various fields and of talking to the leaders of the Soviet Union on important international issues and matters of

mutual interest. These talks were throughout marked by frankness and cordiality. The talks with President Mikoyan, Prime Minister Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev were particularly useful in understanding each other's viewpoint on major international issues. It was obvious that both the Soviet Government and people stood sincerely and wholeheartedly for peace and international cooperation.

We were in general agreement on the approach to the most important international problems of today such as the Vietnam situation, disarmament, the ending of colonialism and neocolonialism, and of racial discrimination, and the need for strengthening the United Nations. We both agreed that the policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence which had been adopted by a large number of newly independent countries had contributed greatly to the maintenance of world peace.

During our talks, we fully informed the Soviet leaders of the facts of the Pakistani aggression on Kutch. We acquainted them with our position that while we would steadfastly adhere, despite provocation, to our policy of seeking peaceful solutions to Indo-Pakistan problems, we would have to take whatever steps might be necessary to protect India's territorial integrity. The Soviet leaders, while showing understanding of our position, expressed the hope that the Kutch-Sind border problem will be solved peacefully. The Soviet leaders reaffirmed their traditional stand on Kashmir.

We were reassured of continued Soviet assistance and support for our development plans. The Soviet Union has agreed to extend assistance for specific projects, particularly in the fields of iron and steel, non-ferrous-metals, mining and oil industries, power supply, training of Indian personnel in higher technology and development of sea fisheries. The details of the assistance are under discussion between experts of the two countries. Both countries expressed satisfaction at the development of their trade relations and agreed to expand them further.

On assistance in the field of defence, I would only mention that the response of the Soviet side was according to our expectations. The Soviet side would continue its assistance in the projects which have already been negotiated.

The overall impression of my visit to the Soviet Union is that the present Soviet leadership sincerely wants peace and believes in peaceful co-existence. We found a genuine desire for peace among the Soviet people everywhere. The Soviet Union and its leaders are one with us on questions of war and peace, imperialism, colonialism and racialism, the role of non-alignment and many other international issues. My visit to the Soviet Union has surely deepened the friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.

En route to Canada, I stopped for a day at Cairo on 9th June at the invitation of President Nasser. It is always a pleasant experience

to meet President Nasser who has warm and friendly regard for our country.

The main topic of discussion with President Nasser was naturally the Afro-Asian Conference which, at the time, was of prepossessing interest. Both the UAR Government and ourselves were anxious that differences over the admission of certain countries should be satisfactorily resolved. We discovered a broad identity of views on most matters concerning the conference. I particularly emphasised that the success of the conference would depend on whether the participants dealt with various problems in a constructive spirit to seek positive solutions. Great harm, especially to Afro-Asian solidarity, would result if the conference got lost in mutual bickering or polemical exercises. As the conference has been postponed, I need not dwell further on this subject.

Our discussions ranged over other matters also, including the development of our two countries. As President Nasser rightly observed, the problems of development are perhaps greater than the problems of under-development. There are valuable lessons which our two countries can learn from each other's experience in these matters. In any case, we were agreed that it was essential that developing countries like India and the UAR should cooperate to the utmost and help each other in every possible way.

We agreed that in the field of international relations, India and the UAR, which were among the originators of the policy of non-alignment, had a great responsibility and should continue with the help of other like-minded countries to do their best to keep the non-aligned nations together as a powerful factor for the maintenance of world peace.

My visit to Canada lasted from 10th June to 14th June. During my stay there, I had frank and friendly talks with Prime Minister Lester Pearson and Foreign Minister Paul Martin and some of their colleagues.

I found the Canadian Government to be in full agreement with our views on many important questions. As the House is aware, both our countries are represented on the International Control Commission in Vietnam. I found the Canadians as anxious as we are to bring an end to the hostilities in Vietnam and we discussed ways and means by which we might seek to do this.

Canada fully shared our anxiety to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons and to bring about general and complete disarmament. Canada appreciated our decision not to go in for nuclear arms.

In regard to the United Nations, where both our countries have played a prominent part in different theatres of conflict, we found ourselves in agreement on the overriding need of ensuring that the unfortunate experience of the early part of the nineteenth session of the UN General Assembly was not repeated, and that the General Assembly,

when it reconvenes, should function normally so that it may continue to serve the interests of peace and international cooperation.

As the Honourable Members are aware, Canada is giving us valuable assistance in the economic field. I am reasonably confident that the extent of Canadian aid for the Fourth Five Year Plan would be substantial.

I found the Canadians a very friendly and hospitable people and I was greeted everywhere with genuine affection. Theirs is a vast country with vast opportunities. Having an area more than twice our own, their population, now quite 20 million, is much smaller than ours. It is indeed a land of great promise, and cooperation between our two countries can be extremely fruitful.

On my return to the United Kingdom from Canada, I attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in London from 17th to 25th June, 1965. This meeting was attended by representatives of 21 Commonwealth countries. Malta, Zambia and Gambia attended for the first time.

The Prime Ministers undertook a comprehensive review of current international problems and expressed their conviction that all possible steps should be taken to reinforce the authority of the United Nations organisations. At the end of the meeting, a joint communique was issued. This covers, in great details, the subjects discussed by the Prime Ministers and the conclusions reached by them on international issues.

As the House is aware, a Mission was established to make contacts with the parties principally concerned with the problem of Vietnam. This Mission is composed of the Prime Minister of Britain, the President of Ghana and the Prime Ministers of Nigeria and Trinidad and Tobago. The establishment of this Mission reflects the common concern of 21 nations representing different continents, races and political and social systems, for an early peaceful solution of the Vietnam conflict which is fraught with tragedy for the people of Vietnam and danger for the whole world.

As the Honourable Members are aware, the Prime Ministers considered a report by officials, which they approved, for the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat in London. The Conference unanimously approved the appointment of Mr. Arnold Smith of Canada as the first Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Commonwealth Secretariat is designed to facilitate collection and exchange of information among the member-countries with a view to spreading knowledge and better understanding of each other and promoting cooperation among them for their mutual benefit. It will also service future meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The Prime Ministers also agreed to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund to be raised by contributions from the member-countries to *inter alia* faci-

litate interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields.

In Yugoslavia I received a very warm welcome from President Tito, Prime Minister Peter Stambolic, the Members of Government and from the people of Yugoslavia. I had detailed discussions with both the President and the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia concerning the international situation and the ways and means of further promoting and strengthening our bilateral relations.

Our talks again confirmed the similarity of our approach to all important international issues. A large part of our discussions was devoted to the Vietnam situation. We were both imbued with the desire to find a way of breaking the deadlock and bringing the parties to a conference table. We felt that there was no alternative to a peaceful solution negotiated at a conference if a dangerous and wider war was to be averted in Vietnam and world peace was to be safeguarded. I must confess that neither of us saw a way out at the present time in view of the lack of agreement to come to a conference table among the parties concerned in the Vietnam situation. Yet, we felt that efforts must be continued by all peace-loving and non-aligned countries to influence the parties concerned to come to a conference table. We also felt that in this the non-aligned countries had, as on other previous critical occasions, an important role to play. Both of us agreed that the bombing of North Vietnam should stop; this would create conditions in which there could be appropriate responses which would facilitate the cessation of hostilities and the holding of a conference. We both felt that a peaceful solution should be found in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

Both the Yugoslav Government and ourselves expressed our mutual desire to further promote trade and economic relations. We agreed on economic cooperation in undertaking projects in third countries.

I came away from Yugoslavia with a deep impression of warm and abiding friendship for India among the people and Government of Yugoslavia.

CHAPTER V

FRIENDSHIP WITH SOVIET UNION

1. 'THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT'

IHAVE ABSOLUTELY no doubt that the ties of friendship between India and the Soviet Union will grow stronger with each passing year. I leave for the Soviet Union tomorrow on a goodwill visit. India and the Soviet Union are close friends who have an identical approach on many issues. There are absolutely no problems between us. The two countries have collaborated in many fields. Only recently we celebrated the tenth anniversary of Indo-Soviet economic cooperation. Bhilai, Barauni, Neyveli, the Heavy Machinery Plant at Ranchi and the Heavy Electrical Equipment Plant at Hardwar are some outstanding examples of economic cooperation. Bokaro will soon be added to this impressive list. These projects will remain the most abiding and the most cherished monuments of Soviet-Indian friendship.

Jawaharlalji used to say, 'The Soviet Union has given us many precious gifts; the most precious gift of these is friendship'. I can do no better than to echo these sentiments.

2. INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ROOTED IN HISTORY

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen :

My colleagues and I have been in your country for just a few hours. We are greatly impressed by the warmth and cordiality with which we have been received. My predecessor Jawaharlal Nehru always had the most vivid impressions of the deep feelings of friendship for India which are entertained by the people of the Soviet Union.

I would like to express my warm appreciation of the kind references you have made to my country and people. I would like to assure you that we in India have the highest regard and affection for the Soviet Union and the people of your great country.

The Soviet Union was one of the first countries with which we established diplomatic relations after the dawn of freedom in our country. We did so in the conviction that the development of friendly relations between our two countries was necessary not only in the interests of our two peoples but also in the larger interests of peace throughout the world.

Over the years there has been a most remarkable development in our relations in the political, economic and cultural fields. The close and ever-growing understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions is a lasting tribute to the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence between States with different political, social and economic systems to which both our Governments steadfastly subscribe.

We are particularly gratified by the constant understanding and respect your Government has shown for our policy of non-alignment. This policy is not based on considerations of expediency but finds its roots in the history and traditions of our country from ancient times. In the context of today we are firmly convinced that the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is the best means of preserving our independence and sovereignty. We have adhered to this policy in spite of the serious pressures and threats to our independence and territorial integrity we have been subjected to. It is no exaggeration for me to say that our ability to pursue this policy has to a large extent been due to the understanding and support which your Government has extended to this policy.

It has been a source of great satisfaction to us to see the development of close understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions. At the United Nations and other

international forums our delegations have cooperated fruitfully in the pursuit of common objectives. Your support on some vital issues concerning India has been deeply appreciated by our Government and people and has forged unbreakable bonds of friendship between us.

The close cooperation and understanding which so happily exists in the approach of our two countries to various international problems flows from our common quest for peace and our common desire to eliminate war. It is for this reason that both our countries are totally opposed to the use of force for the settlement of international disputes. Similarly, we share the view that general and complete disarmament must be achieved as early as possible if mankind is to be saved from the threat of complete annihilation. The Test Ban Treaty which was signed in this historic city two years ago was a significant first step on the way to disarmament. India was one of the first countries to sign this treaty. Unfortunately, not all countries have found it possible to subscribe to this treaty and the world now faces the dangerous consequences of an unrestricted proliferation of nuclear weapons. The international community has to address itself with the utmost seriousness to this problem if there is to be any guarantee that weapons of mass destruction will not pass into the hands of a larger number of countries, thereby resulting in a serious threat to the security of the world. It is a matter of great satisfaction that our Governments have always worked in close coordination in all matters relating to disarmament. It is our hope that the current session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission will mean positive progress in this field and that its deliberations will lead to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee resuming its work with a greater sense of direction and purpose as soon as possible.

I would like to express our gratitude for the substantial economic assistance we have received from the Soviet Union during our Second and Third Five Year Plan periods. The various schemes and projects which have been implemented with Soviet aid have gone a long way in creating a base for the economic structure we are planning to build in our country. The Bhilai Steel Project is one of many lasting monuments to the close and friendly cooperation between our countries in the economic field. We are now engaged in working out the frame-work for our Fourth Five Year Plan and I am glad to hear that my colleague Mr. Asoka Mehta has had fruitful discussions with representatives of your Government on the basis of which our long-term economic cooperation can be coordinated for the mutual benefit of both our countries and peoples.

Mr Chairman, for me personally this is truly a voyage of discovery. I have previously had the privilege of meeting several distinguished leaders of your great country during their visits to India. I was also anxious to meet the friendly and warm-hearted people of the Soviet Union and

their leaders and to feel the glow of that close friendship which illuminates our mutual relationship. We in India are now going through the first stages of industrial revolution. We are making strenuous efforts to improve the living standards of the millions of our country. Your country, Mr, Chairman, has already advanced far towards the completion of this process. You have achieved marvels in the field of science and technology and have even enabled man to conquer space. We admire you and we congratulate you on your achievements. We are also happy in the thought that in so many spheres of economic activity in our country, we are successfully collaborating with the Soviet Union and are steadily but surely progressing towards the establishment in our country of a socialist society in which there will be no serious inequalities between the rich and the poor and in which all your people will be assured of a reasonable standard of living.

I fully share your view, Mr Prime Minister, that the close and friendly ties which have developed between our two countries are in the interests of our people and of world peace itself. May I request you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in drinking a toast to the health of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, His Excellency Mr Mikoyan, to the health of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, His Excellency Mr. Kosygin, to the welfare and prosperity of the Soviet people and to the further consolidation and strengthening of Indo-Soviet friendship.

3. A FACTOR FOR WORLD PEACE

IT GIVES ME very great pleasure to welcome all of you on what is in fact a bit of India in the Soviet Union. We have had the privilege of acquainting ourselves with your great capital city and your people. The combined will for peace of our nations, comprising as many as 700 million people, constitutes a powerful influence for the establishment of peace and amity among peoples throughout the world.

The world is going through a serious crisis at the present moment and the situation in Asia is particularly tense. Both our Governments are deeply concerned at the developments in this area and it is our earnest hope that the serious threat to peace which hangs over Asia might be warded off by patient and painstaking efforts to resolve existing differences by negotiations rather than by the use of force. The Soviet Union has played a very important role in supporting the liberation

struggle in Asia and in assisting the newly independent countries of Asia to develop their backward economies. It is for this reason that the future independence and prosperity of Asia can to a large extent be assisted and strengthened by closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and countries of Asia. Our own record of cooperation with the Soviet Union both in the political and economic fields is significant and impressive.

In the political field we have worked closely together in the struggle against colonialism and the quest for an early agreement on disarmament. In the post-war years the efforts of the international community have been to bring about a peaceful settlement of all international disputes. In this task the United Nations has played and should continue to play a vital role. Today the world body is facing a serious crisis. The determination of both our Governments to preserve the integrity of the world organisation has prompted closer cooperation between us on the measures to be adopted to resolve the difficulties with which it is faced. It is our earnest hope that an equitable solution will be found to the problems which today threaten the very existence of the United Nations.

Indo-Soviet economic cooperation has grown in leaps and bounds in recent year. There are a number of monuments to our economic friendship and cooperation in such places as Bhilai, Neyveli and Ankleshwar. I would like to express the hope that our future relations may be as strong and lasting as the steel produced at Bhilai.

It was only very recently that we celebrated the tenth anniversary of our collaboration in the economic field and we had the privilege of having an old friend of India, your distinguished Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Dymshits, in India. We are happy that our efforts to coordinate our respective economic plans have reached a fairly advanced stage. In all these ways we hope to benefit from your experience and assistance in order to strengthen the economic base of our country and to bring about a greater degree of prosperity for our people.

Even in the cultural field we have come much closer to one another in recent years. Our programme for cultural exchange is now quite extensive. The opening of an Institute of Russian Studies in India is but a symbol of the growing desire of our peoples to get to know one another better.

My visit to the Soviet Union has convinced me that the foundation for the further development of friendly relations between our two countries has been firmly laid. It is a matter of great satisfaction that we share the view that this free and voluntary association has been of benefit to both our countries and people and I am confident that Indo-Soviet friendship is both now and in the future a factor in modern international relations conducive to peace and international harmony.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to request you to join me in a toast to the health of the Chairman of the Presidium of the

Supreme Soviet, His Excellency Mr. Mikoyan, to the health of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, His Excellency Mr. Kosygin, and to the constant growth and strengthening of Indo-Soviet friendship.

4. DETERMINATION TO FIGHT COLONIALISM

I AM DEEPLY touched by your very kind welcome. Words fail me in expressing my gratitude to you for the affection shown to me. I am sorry to have been late. It was on account of important discussions I was having with Mr. Brezhnev. He did not allow me to get up. There was no alternative. As a guest, I had to remain seated there. I am in the hands of the Soviet authorities, a prisoner, but a prisoner of love.

I am very happy to have this opportunity of seeing with my own eyes how the world of friendship is being built in the minds and hearts of the youth of various countries. This is a laudable experiment. The only way to build peace and friendship among the peoples of the world is by bringing them together in institutions like this where they can open their hearts and minds to the fresh winds of thought that blow from all parts of the world. I believe that the seeds of friendship sown in institutions like this are bound to take deep roots and grow in time to come. If the leaders of the world could join and discuss things in a friendly and peaceful atmosphere such as you have here, most international problems could be solved without any difficulty whatever. You are the future leaders of your countries and of the world and I wish you every success in carrying the message of friendship, of world peace, and of human understanding from the portals of this university to your own countries. You have to bring about by your sincere and earnest efforts a world where man will respect his fellow men and where the colour of one's skin or one's political or religious creed will not be forces that divide.

I am happy that more than a hundred and forty students from India are studying in this institution. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for having given this opportunity to our students to study in various fields of science and technology at this University. I hope that our students will bring credit to themselves, to their country and to this institution.

Mr. Rector, at a time when tension and strife are once again tending to divert the attention of the world from the path of peace and progress, it seems necessary to make special efforts to stress those higher values of amity and goodwill to which both our countries are irrevocably devoted.

Mahatma Gandhi who generated, shaped and guided India's struggle for independence proclaimed and carried into effect the policy that even a colonial power could be fought by peaceful methods and without feelings of bitterness and animosity. The world's conscience today has to be roused against the forces of strife and destruction. The leaders and people of India and the Soviet Union are working together in this direction. In this great task your University and other similar institutions can play a truly effective role.

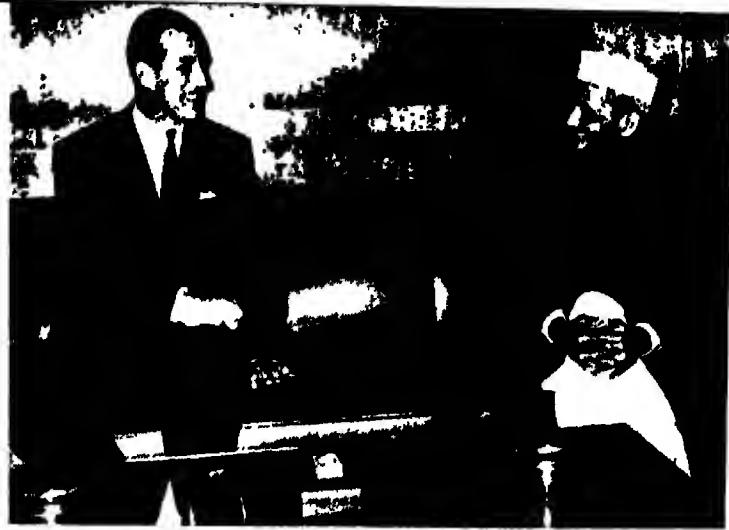
It was India that led the battle of freedom against imperialism. We fought it with a special technique and we won our freedom in about twenty-five years. The leaders of India, Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji, always said that India would never be satisfied unless all Asian and African countries achieved freedom. I am glad to say that soon after the attainment of independence by India, freedom came to the countries of Asia. I am happy that most of the countries of Africa have achieved independence. There are still some countries which are under foreign subjugation. India stands against colonialism. We feel that there will be no peace unless all colonies have attained freedom and there is no subjugation in any part of the world. I would especially like to refer to the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, to Southern Rhodesia and to the policies pursued in South Africa. The people of these countries are waging a battle against colonialists and undergoing terrible suffering. There is no alternative for the people but to accept these sufferings and go ahead with their battle with courage and determination. I would like to convey to them the moral support of the people and the Government of India. I have no doubt that India, the Soviet Union and all non-aligned countries will stand by these freedom fighters till they have achieved independence.

Mr. Rector, I wish you every success in the unique experiment that you have launched here, and through you I wish to convey to all the students of the eighty-three countries who study here my best wishes for success in their work.

5. ENLARGING THE AREA OF PEACE

MR. CHAIRMAN, Your Excellencies and Friends : I feel greatly honoured to participate in this function and heartily reciprocate the warm feelings which you have expressed. From my point of view this is an extremely important occasion when I am meeting the

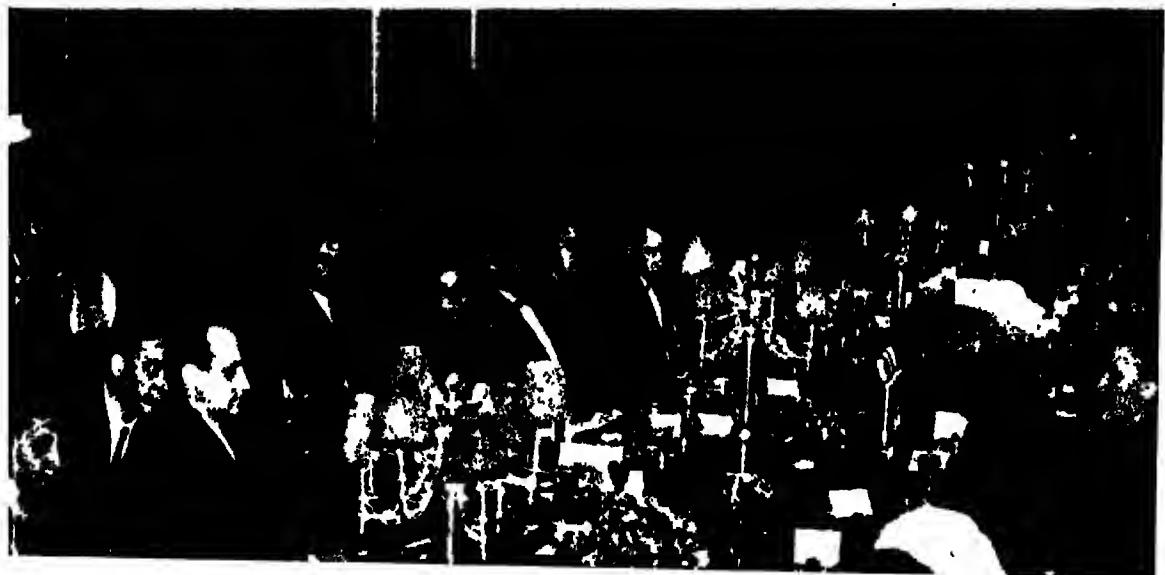
With the Duke of Edinburgh



With Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom



Speaking at a dinner in honour of the Czech Prime Minister, Josef Lenart



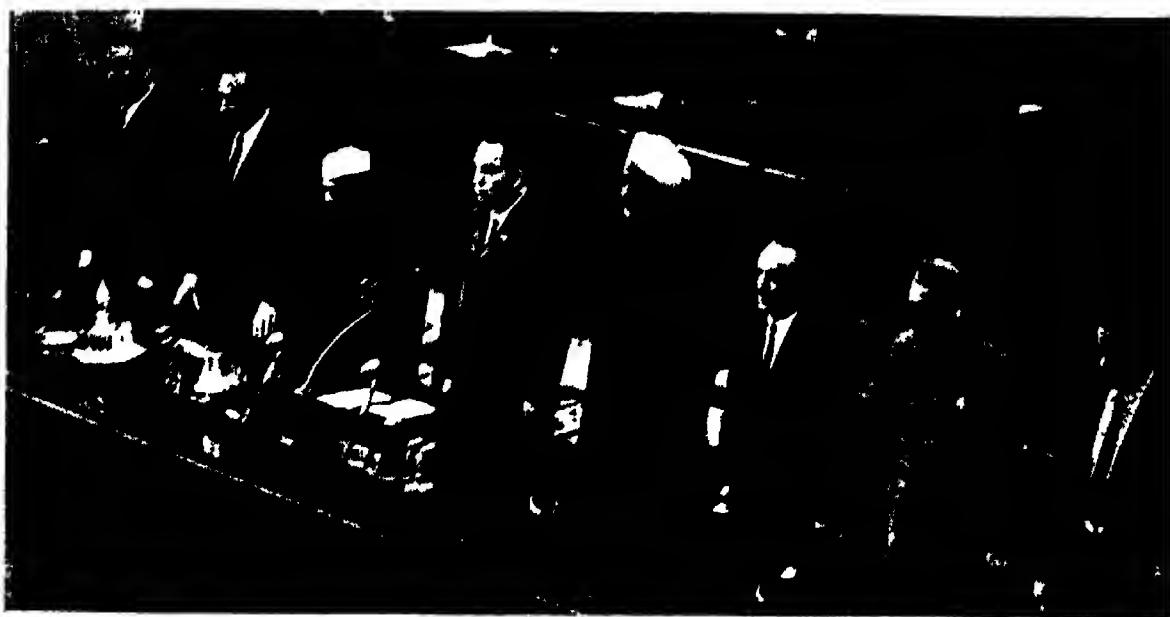
Speaking at the University of Sussex, U.K.



With George Pompidou, Prime Minister of France



With Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany



At the Indo-Soviet Friendship meet



*Receiving a memento
from the Rector of
Moscow University*



*Addressing the
students of Lumumba
University*



*With the people of
the Soviet Union*

leaders of a country which has strong ties of friendship with India. I want to tell Your Excellencies that the people of India have the highest regard for the people of USSR and that they cherish this deep and growing friendship between ourselves.

While Governments can give the lead in cementing friendly relations between countries, the consolidation of such friendship depends in the ultimate analysis on the efforts of the people themselves. The people of India and the people of the Soviet Union have already demonstrated that they are united together by genuine, strong and abiding bonds of friendship.

Our mutual relations are based not upon any temporary expedients but upon the sincere realisation that the larger interests of humanity can be served best by promoting and enlarging the area of peace. Our close relationship is not directed against the interests of any other country or any other people. On the contrary, we both earnestly wish that all the countries of the world should be united together by similar feelings of mutual regard and close understanding. Our mission would be completed only when that day dawns.

The father of the Indian nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and our great national leader, the builder of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru, always conceived of the freedom of India only as a part of the freedom of the oppressed nations all over the world. Gandhi and Nehru were men of great vision and unbounded idealism. They taught us to believe that the freedom and independence of India would be incomplete so long as any country anywhere in the world continued to be under foreign domination. When, therefore, we attained our independence, we did not think that the journey's end had come. We knew that the process of liberation had just begun and that we had still to traverse a long road which lay ahead of us. It is for this reason that throughout these years we have given strong support to all the peoples who have fought for independence from colonial domination. The people of India are clear in their belief that peace can be established throughout the world only when the last vestiges of colonialism have been eliminated. I want, therefore, to reiterate today how strongly we support the aspirations of the people of countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for independence and for freedom from foreign rule. I am happy that in the noble task of fighting colonialism and imperialism, the Soviet Union and India have always stood shoulder to shoulder in the United Nations.

Often I wonder why today certain colonial countries should still wish to cling to their colonies. These powers should not in my opinion ignore the realities of the situation. In fact they should heed world opinion which solidly supports the liberation movement of all countries which are still ruled by colonial powers. It is absolutely essential that the colonies must get their freedom as early as possible. Although a number of countries have already attained their independence, colonialism still

persists and this must be eliminated from the face of the earth so that men everywhere may live in freedom and with a sense of national dignity.

We are most unhappy at the situation in Vietnam which is a great danger to peace. We want peace to be restored throughout Vietnam. All outside interference should cease and the people of Vietnam should be able to live their lives in freedom and with dignity. Every endeavour should be made to bring about the stoppage of armed conflict and wean away the parties concerned from the battlefield to the conference table. There can be no military solution to the Vietnam problem. I have already said publicly that the bombings in North Vietnam should stop and the right atmosphere should be created for a peaceful solution.

India and the Soviet Union both firmly believe in the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. Peace is essential for the preservation of humanity in this thermo-nuclear age. The only alternative to peaceful co-existence is complete destruction and even total annihilation. We must, therefore, cooperate amongst ourselves in the task of strengthening peace and promoting international amity and goodwill. We must also not lose sight of the fact that peace is indivisible and that a threat of war anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere. It is my sincere hope and earnest expectation that India and the Soviet Union will together provide mighty support to the forces of peace in this strife-torn world.

We strongly believe that the primary responsibility of countries which have secured independence from colonial domination is to provide relief to their people who have suffered so long under foreign rule. All attention has to be concentrated on economic development with a view to providing adequate food, clothing, shelter, education and medical facilities to the people by the establishment of a just economic and social order. Peace is thus of vital importance to the developing countries. Those who seek to create an atmosphere of strife and to build up tensions are no friends of the developing countries. In fact, they compel the developing countries to divert their limited resources from projects for economic development to armaments for national defence.

The most serious threat to peace in the world today, as I see it, is from the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has taken initiative in promoting measures for arresting the further spread of nuclear weapons. The Moscow Test Ban Treaty was clearly designed for this purpose. Whereas your country is trying to promote measures for nuclear disarmament, China has detonated another nuclear device. This further underlines the importance and the urgency of the problem of control and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. We in India firmly believe that unless effective measures are taken to control the nuclear menace within a short time, the world may well reach the point of no return. I ask you, my friends, to bestow the most serious consideration you can on this danger to mankind and to evolve appropriate measures

to fight this menace.

While India pursues steadfastly the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, certain countries are casting covetous eyes on our territories and are attempting to violate our frontiers. In this manner our territorial integrity and national sovereignty is threatened. We as a people believe in peace and in the pursuit of peaceful methods even for the settlement of international disputes. We are prepared always to sit together and discuss such disputes as may arise. But if the path of peace and negotiation is discarded and aggression is committed, we are duty-bound to safeguard our freedom and to defend our frontiers. In such a situation we would consider no sacrifice too great. Our responsibility for the preservation of our freedom is higher than any other responsibility. I want to make it clear that we have no desire whatsoever to take even an inch of any other country's territory. In fact such an idea never even occurs to our mind. At the same time we are determined that we shall not allow any part of our own territory to be annexed by force by any other country, no matter what its alignment and what its power.

We still believe sincerely that if the world is to live in peace at all, there must be total disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. We congratulate the Soviet Government on taking the initiative in regard to nuclear weapons by pressing the Moscow Test Ban Treaty. It was an important step towards the achievement of nuclear disarmament, but only the first step. We hope that this will lead to the banning of all nuclear tests, including underground tests, and to the banning of the use of nuclear weapons throughout the world. We also hope that total and general disarmament by stages and with adequate means of international control inspection will be achieved in our lifetime and in the not too distant future. I can assure you that my Government and my people will work wholeheartedly in cooperation with you and with other peace-loving countries for this cause.

Your Excellencies, although my country is facing a difficult situation on its borders, we are still determined to go ahead with plans for our economic development. As you are perhaps aware, India has launched a series of Five Year Plans to improve the economic conditions of our people and to give social and economic content to our political freedom. Yet we are striving hard with the voluntary cooperation of all our people to meet these problems, to raise the standard of living of our people to industrialise our country and to achieve the aims enshrined in our Constitution. We believe in the equality of all races and religions; we believe in the equality of men; we believe in socialism, and we hope we can achieve these objectives in our own way, according to our own genius, and mainly through the efforts of our own people.

The Government and people of India are happy that friendly relations have always existed between our two countries. They are confident

that these relations will ever grow stronger. Our trade with the Soviet Union has been doubled in the last three years and I hope it will re-double itself in the next five years. We believe that our friendship is to the mutual benefit of both our countries and peoples.

My visit to the Soviet Union has convinced me that the Soviet and Indian people can together be a most potent factor for world peace. Your Excellencies, let us make no mistake. The world has once again begun to drift away from the path of peace towards the path of strife. The highest degree of statesmanship is needed to prevent the coming conflict. Let us resolve that together we will contribute to the emergence of that statesmanlike leadership which can yet recapture the atmosphere of peace. It is in this wider context that we should view the importance of the friendly ties that bind us together.

My visit to this great, heroic, capital city of Moscow will come to a close tonight when I leave for Leningrad. During the days I have been here, I have been overwhelmed by the warmth of affection which the leaders and the people of your great country have showered upon my wife and myself. The Soviet people are warmly human, straight-forward and genuine. I want to assure Your Excellencies that the 450 million people of India reciprocate heartily these feelings and I would ask the Soviet people to accept the greetings and good wishes of all my countrymen for your well-being and prosperity.

6. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE KEY TO WORLD PEACE

DEAR FRIENDS AND citizens of the great Soviet Union : I bring you warm and friendly greeting of the Government and the 450 million people of India. I wish you every success in your noble effort of building up your country and in trying to spread friendship, understanding and peace throughout the world. We in India are also engaged in the great adventure of building up our country in various fields—political, social, economic, cultural, scientific and others. As you know, we suffered from 200 years of colonial rule and we have to make up for lost time and telescope centuries into decades and decades into years. In this great task of building up our country and helping the maintenance of peace, we feel greatly encouraged by the sympathy, understanding and active support of the Government and the people of this great country.

We have always admired your Government's policy of peace and

peaceful co-existence which, as your leaders told me, is a fundamental principle of your foreign policy since the days of great Lenin. We have also, since the beginning of our struggle for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, dedicated ourselves to this cause of peace. Our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initiated the five principles of peaceful co-existence between different social, political and economic systems and enunciated the principles of non-alignment as the two main pillars of our foreign policy. We respect your policy of peaceful co-existence just as you respect our policy of non-alignment. These two policies go hand in hand and help in the maintenance of peace, in the relaxation of tensions and in helping newly independent and developing countries to maintain their political and economic independence.

The international situation is taking a dangerous turn in various parts of the world—in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. In this thermo-nuclear age, it is all the more necessary to follow the path of peace and peaceful co-existence so that the world may be saved from the scourge of war. The only alternative to peaceful co-existence is a violent upheaval which will destroy the whole of humanity. Peaceful co-existence is not a policy of weakness but of strength; it is not a policy that can compromise with imperialism or colonialism. It is a positive policy that helps the liberation of colonial territories and peoples under foreign domination. We hope that the remaining pockets of colonialism and imperialism in various parts of the world, such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, etc., will be removed in the very near future through the force of strong and powerful world opinion.

I have been in your heroic city only for four days today. I have been deeply impressed by the warmth of your reception and the sincerity of your feelings of friendship for my country and people. We know how bravely you fought against Fascism and Nazism and I congratulate you on the recognition you recently received from your Government on the 20th anniversary celebrations of the victory over Fascism. The people of the Soviet Union played a decisive role in this great victory over Fascism, and were an inspiring example to all countries to fight against aggression.

We are determined to maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country. While we have no designs on the territory of any other country, we shall not tolerate any encroachment on our own territory. Like you, however, we believe in the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful negotiations. We hope that all other countries will likewise follow this path of peace and settle all questions through peaceful means.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Government and the people of the Soviet Union for the generous and disinterested help they have given to us in various fields of our economy. We in our

turn are also trying to help some of our neighbouring countries and other countries to the best of our ability, in strengthening their economies. But no country in the world can develop with foreign assistance alone. It is, therefore, our aim to reach a self-sustaining stage, mainly with the efforts of our own people.

Our trade and economic relations have developed very rapidly during the last few years. The tenth anniversary of our economic cooperation was recently celebrated with great enthusiasm by our people in India. Bhilai and Ranchi, Ankleshwar and Barauni, Neyveli and Rampur, are shining examples of our cooperation in the new India.

Our trade has increased more than eight times in the last eight years. Both our Governments have agreed to double it in the next eight years. We hope that our economic and trade relations will be as beneficial to you as they are to us.

Our cultural relations are also increasing rapidly. It is necessary that more and more people from our two countries should visit each other so that there is greater fellow-feeling and understanding between us. It is my earnest hope that our growing friendly relations will help in promoting a feeling of amity and goodwill all round. Let the friendship between the Indian and Soviet people serve as a solid foundation for understanding and cooperation amongst all peoples of the world.

I am leaving for Leningrad tonight and I would therefore like to take leave of you. Allow me, my friends, to say how deeply touched I am by the warm affection which has been showered upon my wife and myself. We are carrying with us happy memories which we will always cherish. Once again I would ask you to accept the greetings and good wishes of the peoples of India for the happiness and well-being of all men, women and children in this great country.

7. LENINGRAD INSPIRES HEROISM

I AM VERY happy to be in your great city. It is named after a great revolutionary of the world. Lenin will live for ever in history. As long as there are weak and downtrodden people, Lenin's words will be remembered. All Indians have great respect for Lenin and have always looked upon him with admiration. Under his leadership, the revolution directed from this city changed the face of the Soviet Union. I pay my tributes to him.

I have seen the cemetery in Leningrad. It created a great impres-

Speech in Hindi at a luncheon given by the Mayor of Leningrad on May 17, 1965

sion on my mind. A nation which is capable of such great sacrifices cannot be easily vanquished. Five lakhs of people perished here and yet the people continued to fight till victory was won. This heroic example will be remembered for ever and will continue to inspire generations. An attack on a nation cannot be met by a show of weakness but only by resoluteness.

It has given me much pleasure to visit this great city. I am grateful for the affection shown by the men and women of Leningrad who were so charming, simple and straightforward that they won our hearts. Whenever I come to the Soviet Union again, I will make it a point to visit Leningrad, both because the people of Leningrad are so full of affection and because Leningrad will always be a source of inspiration to me.

8. NO SETTLEMENT OF FRONTIERS THROUGH AGGRESSION

THIS WAS MY first visit to the Soviet Union. I am glad to have had the opportunity of having intimate talks with the top leaders of the Soviet Union. These talks were frank and friendly, and the Soviet leaders showed understanding and sympathy for India's point of view on all important matters. Peace and peaceful co-existence were the keynote of our discussions. India greatly appreciates the policy of peaceful co-existence accepted and adopted by the USSR. The Soviet Union in turn appreciates our policy of non-alignment. Non-alignment and peaceful co-existence are the basic policies which would undoubtedly help in the strengthening of peace. Peaceful co-existence is a recognition of the realities of the situation. Every country wants to build itself up in accordance with its needs, its particular genius and traditions. Any intervention or subversion in the affairs of another country can only lead to bitterness and conflict which must be avoided. Whatever their pattern of government, whatever their ideologies, all countries should be able to live in peace and amity. Similarly, the frontiers between two countries should not be disputed or settled through aggression. There should be a peaceful approach to the solution of this problem. The Soviet Union and India have both accepted it as a sound policy. Unfortunately some countries have resorted to the use of force on our borders. India still wants to settle all matters peacefully, but this cannot be achieved by one side alone. It is essential that we protect our borders and

maintain the integrity of our country at any cost.

There were important and useful discussions on economic problems. We are thankful to the USSR for the help it has rendered to India in the economic field. I am exceedingly glad to say that the Soviet Union has agreed to help us further in setting up new basic industries—non-ferrous metal, coal mining, oil, etc. Soviet assistance will be forthcoming for the Fourth Five Year Plan and I am sure the assistance will be substantial. We value this assistance as it will help us a good deal in the successful implementation of our Fourth Plan.

This visit has been of special importance and I am happy indeed to have received so much cordiality and friendship. My visits to Leningrad, Kiev and Taskent will be memorable to me and to my wife for the affection showered on us at these places. We will cherish this happy memory always. The people of India have the same feelings towards the people of the Soviet Union. They feel that cooperation between the two countries is essential not only for the good of the two countries but for humanity at large. Both will work for peace in full cooperation with each other and would like to maintain contacts for the furtherance of this noble cause. I wish and hope that unity between the Soviet Union and India becomes stronger and that our bonds grow closer. I extend my most sincere thanks to Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Mikoyan with whom I had friendly meetings in Moscow. They have been good enough to accept my invitation to visit India. To Mr. and Mrs. Kosygin, who were good enough to accompany me and my wife, I convey my grateful thanks. I am thankful that Mr. Kosygin should have taken such keen interest in my programme throughout my stay here. I have extended an invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Kosygin to visit India at their convenience, and I am happy that they have accepted my invitation.

Leningrad and Kiev have left a lasting impression on my mind for the supreme sacrifice they made in the last war. Their story of courage and determination will be written in letters of gold and will always be a great inspiration for future generations. If people fight with courage, there is none to defeat them.

We have a cultural agreement with the USSR under which annual plans are drawn up. Exchanges under this programme are continuously increasing. There will be an exchange of professors and scientists, and scholarships for two hundred students.

I am delighted to have visited Tashkent and seen and met the people of this beautiful city. It looks like India. There appears to be so much similarity and cultural affinity between us. I have no doubt that this Republic will develop further. I am deeply touched by the cordiality and friendship shown to me by the people of Tashkent and wish to express my sincere thanks to them. *

Our policy on the situation in South-East Asia and the policy of the Soviet Union are clearly expressed in the Joint Communique.

9. THIS I SAW IN SOVIET UNION

ONE OF THE great achievements of Jawaharlal Nehru was to put India on the map of the world. He evolved and shaped a foreign policy which struck a new path in international relations and showed a new way to the whole world. My recent visit to the Soviet Union was also an outcome of that same policy of peace and goodwill. The friendly welcome extended to me by the Prime Minister, the Ministers and Government officials and, above all, by the people of the Soviet Union was heart-warming indeed. It is true that there has been a great change in India in that Jawaharlal is no more with us. The Soviet Union too has seen some changes in the recent past. As a result, both the Soviet Prime Minister and I were in a sense new to the office. Even so the talks we had were absolutely frank and friendly. What I liked most about these talks was the absence of any kind of reservation or manoeuvering. Nothing was said which was prompted by diplomacy. Whatever they thought right they accepted in a straightforward fashion. If they differed on an issue, they said so clearly and unequivocally. I did the same. I was greatly impressed by the fact that during my entire stay in the USSR I had no occasion to encounter equivocation or roundabout talk in any of the exchanges I had there.

Ours is a policy of non-alignment. We do not want to join any power bloc, Eastern or Western. This was a policy decision of Jawaharlal Nehru. If we align ourselves to any power bloc, I doubt whether we would be able to think freely or do what we consider right for our own country. Today Nehru's policy of non-alignment has been adopted by many Asian and African countries and it has struck roots there. We are committed to the policy of non-alignment and the Soviet Union fully supports us in this. They are also whole-heartedly implementing the policy of co-existence amongst people of different ideologies and different forms of government which had been initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru and agreed to in principle by them. Thus non-alignment and peaceful co-existence have become a base, a foundation on which peace and amity in the world can be built. We want to further our friendly relations with those countries which are with us in our pursuit of the policy of non-alignment.

We do not want war with any country. It is our policy to be friendly to all and even to those whose ideologies and methods are totally different from ours. At the same time, as I said, we do not want to align ourselves to any bloc. Because of this, our bonds with the Soviet Union have become even closer and stronger.

It is difficult to find a parallel for the patriotism and capacity for sacrifice I saw in the people of the Soviet Union. In Leningrad, about five lakh people were killed in the last war and about six lakh starved to death. This supreme sacrifice of eleven lakh people in one city is not a small thing. Although the German Fascists had marched right up to Kiev near Stalingrad, the Russians did not lose courage. The men, women and children of the country roused themselves and clung together in a heroic bid to defend themselves and their fatherland. It does not behove our country, or any country for that matter, to be perturbed by some small reverses. We must remember that the aggressor is always at an advantage, as were Fascist Germany and Italy. Nobody can forcibly occupy a country of 450 million people if they have inner strength, love for their motherland and the capacity for sacrifice. I saw the truth of this myself in Leningrad. It was the essence of Jawaharlal Nehru's message that every Indian should work with devotion for the nation and be prepared for every sacrifice for the sake of the country. At the same time it is true that we want to avoid war, although we cannot succeed in preventing it entirely on our own, without cooperation from the other party. The seriousness of the situation will be brought home to us if we consider that once it starts, no war today can remain a local affair.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a citizen of the world. The sufferings of people anywhere in the world pained him as much as did the miseries of his own countrymen. Today we are engaged in the big task that was so dear to the heart of our departed leader, of fighting poverty and unemployment in our country. We will not rest till the lot of the common man is improved. We are grateful to the countries from which we receive loans and assistance for our Plans. But we must remember that we have to strengthen our hands and stand on our own feet. We shall shortly have to dispense with this aid. We may not have enough to eat or wear, but we cannot depend on others indefinitely. It is not desirable for us to get under the pressure of loans and aid from other countries. We must be prepared to defend the country ourselves and develop it through our own efforts. This is what Jawaharlal Nehru taught us.

BOOK THREE

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

CHAPTER I

CONFLICT IN THE RANN

1. PAKISTAN'S DESIGNS IN KUTCH

THIS HOUSE MAY take into consideration the situation which has arisen as a result of repeated and continuing attacks by Pakistan's armed forces on the Kutch border. There have been serious and frequent engagements. Our men are defending our frontiers with exemplary valour and I should like to tell them that this House and all the people of this country stand solidly behind them and will consider no sacrifice too great to meet this challenge to our territorial integrity.

The situation which we are facing today is undoubtedly grave. I think the House would like to have a connected account of the events leading up to the situation that exists today.

During the last few months, Pakistan has been resorting periodically to firing and clashes at several points on the Indo-Pakistan border, both in the east and in the west. Our men have taken defensive action at all these points effectively, but with great restraint. The clashes on the Kutch border are the latest in the series of incidents which Pakistan has chosen to indulge in.

Some time ago, Pakistani patrols were noticed moving on a track close to the Kutch-Sind borders. On being challenged by our patrols, the Pakistani patrols claimed that they were moving on a track which was the old customs track and within Pakistan territory. It was also noticed that Pakistan had occupied Kanjarkot and established a standing post there. In accordance with paragraph 3 of the Ground Rules, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Rajkot Rangers, took up the matter with the Director-General, West Pakistan Rangers, and called for a meeting to discuss the

situation and to determine the *status quo*. The Director-General, West Pakistan Rangers, did not attend but sent his local Commander who had a meeting with the DIG, Rajkot Rangers. This, however, led to no result and encounters between our patrols and those of Pakistan continued.

On April 9 in the early hours of the morning, our border post at Sardar was attacked with heavy mortar and MMG fire, followed by artillery fire from 25-pounder guns under cover of which two battalions of the Pakistan Regular Army belonging to 51 Infantry Brigade advanced towards the post. Details of this encounter have already been given to the House in the statement by the Home Minister on April 12. The fact that this attack was pre-meditated and pre-planned was quite clear from the documents captured from the Pakistan prisoners and from their interrogation. The plan of assault on our border post by the Pakistan Army was drawn up in the second week of March and movement of troops began thereafter. Orders for the attack were apparently given on April 7 and the attack was launched in the early hours of April 9.

Therefrom, as the House knows, the Chief of the Army Staff was instructed to take over operational control of the border and Army units moved into Vigokot the same evening. The Pakistani firings and shellings, however, continued to which our armed forces have replied.

Since then Pakistani armed attacks of increasing intensity have been continuing at many points into our territory south of the Kutch-Sind border. On April 24, our company post at Point 84 was shelled in the morning and later attacked by Pakistani infantry supported by tanks and other armour. On April 26, Pakistan armed forces, again with tanks and armoured vehicles, attacked our border post at Biarbet. These attacks are still continuing.

Pakistani armed action is an act of naked aggression. They have attacked Indian posts which are deep in Indian territory, six to eight miles south of the border—territory which on Pakistan's own admission has never been in its possession. Hon'ble Members have no doubt seen the statement of the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, on April 15 in which he said, defending the Pakistani position : "It must be remembered that the central fact is that this is a dispute over territory which lies roughly north of the 24th Parallel. The dispute has arisen not because the boundary is undemarcated, but because the disputed territory is in India's adverse possession." This is what he has said. In other words, Pakistan has chosen to mount an armed attack on territory over which Pakistan has never exercised possession and over which Pakistan, in fact, admits India's possession. Pakistan thus stands self-condemned. She has used force for changing the *status quo* and for vindicating its territorial claims. This is contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the Ground Rules under the Indo-Pakistan Border Agreement of 1960. Pakistan's behaviour, in fact, amounts to clear and open aggression on our territory. *

As is usual with Pakistan even while discussions have been in progress through diplomatic channels to settle the matter peacefully, Pakistan has been intensifying its attacks and moving in tanks and heavy artillery to attack our posts.

On April 19, the Foreign Secretary handed over a formulation to the High Commissioner which in substance was just what the Pakistan Foreign Office had suggested to our High Commissioner in Karachi a few days earlier, namely, that there should be a cease-fire, to be followed by talks at the official level with a view to determining and restoring the *status quo ante*, and later a high-level meeting between the two Governments to discuss the boundary question. On the morning of April 24, the Pakistan High Commissioner handed over an alternative formulation to the Foreign Secretary, according to which cease-fire was to be followed by the withdrawal of the armed forces of both India and Pakistan, whether civil or military, from certain areas which they contended were the disputed territory. But earlier the same morning, even before this new formulation had been presented, Pakistan had launched a heavy attack in brigade strength on our post at Point 84, west of Chadbet, with heavy artillery.

Throughout this period, Pakistan has been making shifting claims and conflicting statements. At the meeting between the DIG, Rajkot Rangers, and Lt.-Col. Aftab Ali, Commandant of the Indus Rangers, at Kanjarkot on February 15, 1965, they said that they had not occupied Kanjarkot but that they were patrolling the area up to the track south of Kanjarkot which according to him was the old customs track adjoining Surai and Ding. In the Government of Pakistan's note, dated March 1, 1965, which was in answer to our protest note of February 18, 1965, it was stated by the Pakistan Government that Kanjarkot fort had not been occupied by the Indus Rangers. Today, not only is Pakistan in occupation of the Kanjarkot fort but it has gone much beyond its claim to patrolling up to the customs track. Pakistan today is laying claim to a large area south of the Kutch-Sind boundary and north of the 24th Parallel.

I want to state clearly and emphatically that we reject and repudiate these claims in their entirety. Pakistan claims that the Rann of Kutch is an inland sea and, therefore, Pakistan is entitled to half of this area. This is completely untenable. The Rann of Kutch is not an inland sea and has never been recognised as such. Long before the creation of Pakistan, the then British Government of India decided formally, in 1906, that it was more correct to define the Rann of Kutch as a "marsh" rather than as a "lake" or "inland sea". That the Rann of Kutch is a "marsh" is indisputable. It has all the flora and fauna of marshland with marsh-grown grass in abundance and other characteristics. What happens is that during the monsoon period, because of the strong winds and the high tides in the Arabian Sea, this low-lying area gets flooded by

sea water. Furthermore, in the monsoon period it receives fresh water from the swollen rivers. The area, therefore, is flooded from about the middle of May till the end of October. It is mostly dry and partly marsh-land during the remainder of the year.

Pakistan's claims also ignore the historical fact that even though the Kutch-Sind Border is undemarcated, it is well defined on maps and well recognised in fact. Prior to the partition of India, the Kutch-Sind border separated the then British Indian Province of Sind and the Indian State of Kutch. Not being an international boundary then, it did not need to be demarcated. The boundary itself was, however, well defined in all official maps dating from 1872 to 1943 and even later, and was well known and well established. The boundary has also been described in detail in official documents over the last three-quarters of a century prior to the partition of India. The boundary shown in the official maps of undivided India prior to August 15, 1947, cannot be questioned.

The official *Gazetteer* of the Province of Sind published in Karachi in 1907, the *Gazetteer of India* of the Bombay Presidency published in 1909, and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published by the British Secretary of State for India in 1908 are all categorical about the Rann of Kutch being outside the Province of Sind. In all the documents of the Political Department of the then British Government of India, of 1937, 1939 and 1942, defining the political charges of various officers, the Rann of Kutch was invariably shown as falling within the Western India States Agency and never as falling within the Province of Sind. As the House is aware, the entire Western India States Agency became part of India as a result of accession. The totality of evidence leaves no basis whatsoever for any dispute regarding the border between the Sind Province and Kutch.

Ever since these recent intrusions commenced, the Government of India has suggested repeatedly to Pakistan that meetings should be held between local officials in addition to talks at the higher level. For instance, we suggested to the Pakistan Government that the Surveyors-General of the two countries should meet to discuss the problem of demarcation. Pakistan refused. We reminded Pakistan of the Ground Rules and the desirability of a meeting between the local commanders for the restoration of the *status quo*. We also suggested in our note of February 18 that there should be a meeting between the representatives of the two Governments at whatever level considered appropriate by Pakistan and repeated this suggestion later more than once. Despite these endeavours, there was no proper response from Pakistan.

On April 13, 1965, the Pakistan Government made a three-step proposal suggesting (*i*) cease-fire, (*ii*) an inter-governmental meeting to determine what was the *status quo* which should be restored, and (*iii*) a higher level meeting. The Government of India authorised their High Commissioner the very next day, *i.e.* on April 14, to convey their acceptance of these proposals.

It is to be deeply regretted that the Government of Pakistan later went back on their old proposals.

On April 19, the Government of India repeated that the proposal for cease-fire should be accepted forthwith, but instead of accepting it the Government of Pakistan put forward an entirely new formula on April 23, which, as I have already mentioned, required the withdrawal of Indian forces from what Pakistan chooses to call unilaterally a disputed territory but which in fact is indisputably entirely our own. Pakistan has since been persisting in this demand. This attitude on their part means a virtual rejection of all our efforts to wean them away from warlike postures.

I have made this a rather long narrative in order to give the House a complete picture of the false nature of Pakistan's claims, its sinister designs and the naked and reckless use of force by Pakistan against us.

It is apparent that one of the prime reasons for Pakistan's irrational behaviour is the obsessive hatred against India which Pakistani leaders, the Pakistani Press and communal fanatics in Pakistan have worked into their system over the past two decades.

The events which I have just described have caused us all the gravest concern. Ever since the attainment of Independence, India has stood for peace, international amity and goodwill. India has a living and vital stake in peace because we want to concentrate attention on improving the living standards of millions of our people. In the utilisation of our limited resources, we have always given primacy to plans and projects for economic development. It should, therefore, be obvious to anyone who is prepared to look at things objectively that India can have no possible interest in provoking border incidents or in building up an atmosphere of strife.

However, our neighbours, both China and Pakistan, have chosen to adopt an attitude of aggressive hostility towards India. Lately, they seem to have joined hands to act in concert against India.

In these circumstances, the duty of the Government is quite clear and this duty will be discharged fully and effectively. The entire resources of the country in men and material will be employed to defend our frontiers and to preserve our territorial integrity. I know that each one of the 450 million people of India is today prepared to make any sacrifice in defence of the motherland. We would prefer to live in poverty for as long as necessary but we shall not allow our freedom to be subverted.

The specific question which we have to consider, and by this I mean not only the Government but this House and indeed the whole country, is : what course we should now pursue?

We are prepared to take the path of peace but we cannot follow it alone. Pakistan must decide to give up its warlike activities. If it does, I see no reason why the simple fact of determining what was the actual boundary between the erstwhile Province of Sind and the State of Kutch and what is the boundary between India and Pakistan, cannot be settled across the table.

It need not even be a negotiating table. It is more a question of finding out the facts rather than of negotiating a settlement. It can be done by experts on both sides. All this is possible provided there is an immediate cessation of hostilities and restoration of the *status quo ante*.

I should like to tell the House that on the Kutch border, Pakistan has many advantages. What is more, our soldiers are occupying posts in areas which will soon be submerged in water and from where they will, therefore, necessarily have to withdraw. If Pakistan continues to discard reason and persists in its aggressive activities, our Army will defend the country and it will decide its own strategy and the employment of its manpower and equipment in a manner which it deems best. Countries which are friendly to us have urged that a cease-fire should be agreed to as soon as possible. We are ready to respond to these appeals. But, at the same time, I must tell the House that we have also to be ready for the alternative.

Mr. Speaker, I have uttered these words after the most serious thought and with full consciousness of my responsibilities. This is one of the most fateful moments of our times. I realise that both India and Pakistan stand poised at the cross-roads of history. The path of reason and sanity, of peace and harmony, is still open. Even while our police and later our Army have been defending our soil with commendable courage in the face of heavy odds, the path to peace has not been blocked. But it is a path on which we cannot walk alone. It takes two to make friendship and peace.

It is my earnest hope that the point of no return will not be reached and that Pakistan will still agree to a cease-fire in accordance with its own proposals of April 13, which India had accepted.

I know at this hour every Indian is asking himself only one question: what can I do for my country and how can I participate in the nation's endeavour to defend our freedom and territorial integrity? To all Indians, to all our people, I want to address this appeal: Wherever you are and whatever your vocation, you should work with true dedication, bring out the best in you and serve the country selflessly. The supreme need of the hour is national unity—unity not of the word but of the heart. All Indians, of whatever faith or profession, have to stand solidly together and prepare themselves for hardships and sacrifices. Let us give no quarter to any ideas that tend to divide us. Let us all work together with a new sense of national discipline and with an inspired feeling of dedication to the cause of the country's freedom and integrity. And I would close by asking this august House to give its whole-hearted and mighty support to the Government at this momentous hour.

2. A CLEAR CASE OF AGGRESSION

I BEG TO move that the situation arising out of the repeated and continuing attacks by the armed forces of Pakistan on the Kutch border be taken into consideration.

I know how anxious the Hon'ble Members must be to know the facts of the situation and the policy of Government in regard to the grave developments which have taken place. First of all, I would like to report to the House that during the last two or three days there has been no major engagement on the Kutch border and that the aggressive armed forces of Pakistan have not been able to make any further inroads into our territory. Secondly, during the clashes which took place, heavy losses were inflicted on the intruders. The morale of our armed forces is very high. I know that this House and the people of India stand behind them, united in the determination that the territorial integrity of India must be preserved fully and completely.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to state briefly the facts of the situation.

The Kutch-Sind border is a well-defined, well-known and well-established border which is clearly marked in the various editions of the Survey of India maps ever since 1871. A large part of the boundary is not demarcated on the ground. This is so, however, because there was no disputed boundary between the Province of Sind and the Kutch Durbar; and it was not customary to demarcate with pillars boundaries between Provinces and States of British India as they were not international boundaries.

On August 15, 1947, Pakistan was carved out of India as an independent State. Under the Independence Act, the territories of Pakistan were enumerated and these included the Province of Sind. The boundary between Sind and Kutch thus became an international boundary. Pakistan is precluded from claiming any more territory than was included in the Province of Sind on August 15, 1947. No part of the territory south of the Kutch-Sind border, which is shown in the map as situated north of Kanjarkot and is thus clearly Indian territory, could conceivably be a part of Pakistan. In fact, this area was under the jurisdiction and authority of the Ruler of Kutch, which had extended at all times both in law and in fact right up to the border between Sind and Kutch as shown in the Survey of India maps of 1871, 1886, 1898, 1943 and 1946 which was the last map before the date of Independence.

The boundary between Kutch and Sind has also been described in detail in other official documents over the last three-quarters of a century prior to the partition of India. The official *Gazetteer* of Sind published in Karachi in 1907, the *Gazetteer of India* of the Bombay Presidency published

in 1909 and the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published by the British Secretary of State for India in 1908 are all categorical about the Rann of Kutch being outside the Province of Sind. In all the documents of the Political Department of the then British Government of India, of 1937, 1939 and 1942, defining the political charges of the various officials, the Rann of Kutch was invariably shown as falling within the Western India States Agency and never as falling within the Province of Sind. As the House is aware, the entire Western India States Agency became part of India as a result of accession.

The position is so clear that in the light of this the attack on the Kutch border is a clear case of aggression by Pakistan. This aggression also fits into the pattern of Pakistan's aggressive behaviour during the last few months. Pakistan has been resorting frequently to firing and clashes at several points on the Indo-Pakistan border, both in the east and in the west. She has shown an utter lack of responsibility and displayed amazing recklessness.

A few days ago, Prime Minister Wilson sent a message to me and I presume a similar message to President Ayub Khan making certain proposals in the framework of which a cease-fire could be brought about. The Prime Minister of the UK is still pursuing his efforts and, therefore, for obvious reasons, I am unable to say much more about this matter at this stage. I can, however, assure the House that in the exchanges I have had with Mr. Wilson and in any further exchanges, we shall not depart from the position that along with cease-fire there must be a restoration of the *status quo ante*.

Mr. Chairman, the Indian Government and the Indian people have no illwill against the people of Pakistan. We wish them well and we would be happy to see them progress on the road to prosperity. We are aware that their prosperity as well as the prosperity of the people of India, of the 600 million people who inhabit this sub-continent, depends upon the preservation of peace. It is for this reason that we have adhered fervently to the path of peace all these years. A war in the Indian sub-continent may well undo the massive efforts which have been made in both countries to secure an improvement in the living standards of our people. The march in this direction has only just begun and there is yet a long way to go. But President Ayub has talked of a total war between India and Pakistan. We on our part have been greatly restrained not because we are unprepared to meet President Ayub's challenge but because we feel that reason and sanity should prevail over aggression and bellicosity. President Ayub seems to suggest that whereas his country has the right to commit aggression on Indian territories at will and at a point of its own choice, India must not take effective counter-measures. This thesis is totally unacceptable to us. The pattern of Pakistani activity is this. First raise a claim to a neighbour's territory; suddenly mount an attack taking

the neighbour by surprise; launch an ingenious propaganda campaign to suggest that the action is only of a defensive character. I do want to urge President Ayub to think a little more carefully of the consequences of the line of action that he has chosen to pursue. So far the Pakistani aggression on the Kutch border has been met only by local defensive action to protect our territories. From the Indian side there have been no counter-measures and the aggression has, therefore, been a totally one-sided affair. We have restrained ourselves, but if the Government of Pakistan persists in its present aggressive posture, the Government of India will be left with no alternative except to think how best to defend the territorial integrity of the motherland.

Mr. Chairman, let me once again make the position of the Government of India perfectly clear. We will have no objection to ordering a cease-fire on the basis of a simultaneous agreement for the restoration of the *status quo ante*. After the *status quo ante* has been restored, we will be willing to sit together with the representatives of Pakistan to demarcate the boundary in accordance with the well-settled and well-established dividing line between the erstwhile Province of Sind and the State of Kutch. At the same time, I must reiterate clearly and emphatically that the Government of India do not recognise that there is any territorial dispute about the Rann of Kutch. Let me also make it clear that the threat of total war held out by President Ayub will not deter us from performing our rightful duties. No Government in the world would be worth its name if it allows its own territories to be annexed by force by an aggressive neighbour. The Government of India know their responsibilities in the present situation and they are determined to discharge them most effectively.

The threat to our freedom is real, continuing and immediate. We have to meet this threat with all our resources and with all our might. We can afford to give up a few projects of economic development but we cannot allow our defence mechanism to be in any manner inadequate for safeguarding our frontiers.

Among the people there must be a real sense of unity. We must give no quarter to the rumours that are sought to be circulated by anti-social elements. I am greatly strengthened by the knowledge that the morale of our people is high and that every Indian today is prepared to make any sacrifice for defending the territorial integrity of India.

The Rann of Kutch has been and continues to be India's territory. It has been in our possession according to Pakistan itself though Mr. Bhutto characteristically chooses to call it adverse possession. Pakistan now seeks to annex this territory by force. This we shall not allow. No Government in the world would allow that. We have acted with the greatest restraint so far but the sands of time are running out.

I shall say no more on this difficult situation. This is a testing time for our country and our people. I would say to our people : be united,

feel the pride of belonging to a great nation, carry out your tasks with true dedication. Take no notice of the false Pakistani propaganda. Let us have faith in ourselves and in the great destiny of our country. I would now close by asking the House to declare that we all stand together united in defending our motherland.

3. BRITISH INITIATIVE FOR PEACE

A FEW DAYS ago I had referred to the initiative which the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, had taken to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Kutch-Sind boundary. The main new development which has taken place is that late last night we received from the British High Commissioner further details of the British proposals. They were communicated to the Government of Pakistan also yesterday. No proposals in this respect have been made by Lord Mountbatten, who has come to India for an entirely different purpose.

We are examining these suggestions in the light of the basic principles which I have already placed before this House. As I had said earlier, while this process of consultations through diplomatic channels is still in progress, it would not be appropriate for me to make any public statement about the details of these proposals. It is essential that Pakistan should refrain from the use and threat of force and withdraw its forces from positions which they did not occupy before. For a number of days there has been a lull in fighting. While the efforts for a peaceful settlement are being made our Armed Forces will do nothing to aggravate the situation unless there is any provocation from the other side.

Cease-fire will mean a regular declaration of cease-fire. As I have stated, there will be no cease-fire unless the principle of restoration of the *status quo ante* is also agreed to. What I have said at the end of my statement is that there is a lull, but still, shelling sometime goes on. One does not know; it might develop into a fight, but just at present it is something of a kind of lull.

As I said, it was suggested that there should be as far as possible no fighting—I mean, that there should be a lull. As far as I know, though Pakistan is sometimes shelling, there has not been any big offensive from that side. Of course, we have also not retaliated. This is the position.

We do not accept that there is any kind of territorial dispute. But in regard to the boundary line, of course, this matter could be discussed; we can meet and talk about it.

So far as provocation is concerned, it is merely a question of time. There is no doubt that we will take every action possible to drive them out. In so far as agreement between Pakistan and India in regard to cease-fire is concerned, it is absolutely wrong. We have arrived at no such agreement.

I might also add that in fact there was a formal proposal by the U.K. Prime Minister that there should be a cease-fire for one week. That formal proposal had come to us and we had rejected it. We had rejected it outright.

It was suggested by him. It is quite true. But we did feel that during this time when the talks are going on, if Pakistan will also not try to aggravate the situation we will also not do so.

I have made it clear that, whatever the lull, our forces will not aggravate the situation. When I said that, I said it only for the period during which these talks are proceeding. Otherwise, we are quite clear in our mind as to what our responsibilities are and what we propose to do.

4. A CALL FOR 'STATUS QUO ANTE'

I HAVE STATED repeatedly that there can be no cease-fire without a simultaneous agreement about the restoration of the *status quo ante*. In this context, as I said the other day, we categorically rejected a suggestion that there should be a cease-fire even for the limited duration of a week. I had also indicated that in case there is any effort for a peaceful approach Government will certainly consider it. But I had always added that if these hopes were belied then we would be left with no alternative except to consider how best we should defend our territory and in what manner we should repel the aggressor. In fact, this is our position, this is our resolve and we stick to it....

At present there is no question of going beyond the cease-fire and the restoration of the *status quo ante*. When it is done, when it is restored, then we can consider other matters.

It is quite clear that if a cease-fire is agreed to, then a formal declaration as such will have to be made. Besides that, it is also quite clear that the principle of *status quo ante* has also to be agreed to along or simultaneously with the cease-fire. These two things go together.

In so far as the question of arbitration is concerned, it is true that there is an agreement arrived at in 1960 between Shri Swaran Singh and Col. Sheikh of Pakistan.

5. SETTLEMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

AFTER MAKING MY statement on April 28, 1965, I have kept the House informed of developments on Kutch-Sind border.

The initiative which Prime Minister Wilson took some days ago has been followed up and gradually concrete proposals have evolved with a view to bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the problem. We have made it clear on every occasion that a cease-fire would be possible only on the basis of a simultaneous agreement for the restoration of the *status quo* as on January 1, 1965. We have also indicated clearly that only when such a restoration has been effected would we be ready to have recourse to the procedure which had been agreed to between the two Governments for demarcating the border where this had not already been done.

In the communications from the British Government, various points of detail have been put forward for consideration by both the Governments. So far no final draft has been prepared or presented. All I would say is that consistently with the stand which I have taken on the floor of this House we attach the greatest importance to the restoration of *status quo ante* and we have indicated our willingness to proceed thereafter to negotiations at Ministers' level, followed if necessary by a reference to an impartial tribunal as contemplated in the earlier agreements on the subject.

Our policy and our intentions are quite clear and unequivocal. We do not believe in talking with one voice here and with another voice there. We do not believe in talking of peace at one place and committing aggression at another. Our position has been made known to the whole world in the clearest possible terms.

I want the Hon'ble Members to be assured that our armed forces are ready and determined to defend the territorial integrity of the country. They have been greatly strengthened in their determination by the united and powerful support which this House and the people of India all over have extended ever since the crisis began.

I am leaving for Moscow tomorrow morning and I know I would be carrying with me your good wishes and fraternal greetings to the friendly people of the USSR, people who have stood by us in hours of trial and anxiety.

6. THE PATH OF PEACE

WE ARE A free nation, a sovereign people. This is a settled fact which we owe largely to Jawaharlalji, and it is recognised by all. Nobody can undermine it. Today our sovereignty and freedom are being threatened and we are faced with the big task of protecting and safeguarding them. It is our bounden duty to do so with all our might.

You are aware that a few days back Pakistan committed aggression on the Kutch border. We faced the attack with courage and strength. In the event of a war being forced on us, I am confident that India will be in a position to fight back effectively. But we must always remind ourselves of the advice Jawaharlal Nehru used to give us that war should always be avoided.

War is a great destructive force. Some leaders, politicians and high Government officials may talk of war but they forget that in a war it is the common man who suffers most. In the present-day world, no war can remain a local war ; it must inevitably escalate into a world war. We have to think and think again before we decide to abandon the path of peace and allow ourselves to be drawn into a war. You all know how often and how persuasively Jawaharlalji taught us that the country's honour lay in the path of peace and amity. He firmly believed that whenever there were differences between countries, they should be solved through peaceful negotiations. In this belief the whole country was behind him.

We firmly hold that the Rann of Kutch is an integral part of India and that Pakistan has no claim on any part of this area. It is true that a portion of it had not been demarcated; that is to say, the exact boundary line had not been drawn on the ground. Talks were held between Pakistan and India about this in 1960 and it was decided that after further discussions the border would be demarcated on the ground. But in spite of our repeated reminders Pakistan did not do anything to follow up the discussion of 1960, and now all of a sudden they have attacked our posts in this area. We are still willing to agree to the proposal that if Pakistan wants to settle the issue peacefully, she must vacate the Rann of Kutch, including Biarbet and Kanjarkot.

Our position is quite clear. I have made no secret of our desire. As I said, we are still prepared to settle the matter in a peaceful way. But we shall not back out of our basic policies ; in settling this affair we shall insist that the solution is consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

Negotiations are now in progress but I cannot predict what the outcome will be. It might take some time still for anything to be settled. When I was leaving for Russia I thought the matter would

perhaps be settled in a day or two. But further difficulties have arisen and a final solution has yet to be reached. Anyhow, even if it takes some more days for a solution to come in sight, we should not give up our present stand. It is not proper to link this issue with other border issues. Wherever we have a border problem with Pakistan we are ready to talk it over and thus find a solution. But the Kutch problem is a separate issue altogether. We have to settle it by itself, and not along with other problems.

When I visited Karachi I told President Ayub that we had been talking of so many other things but the most important problem was that of border clashes between our countries and the blameless people who suffered as a result of these clashes. I expressed my strong feeling that we must put an end to these clashes and settle all outstanding issues through negotiations. I was happy that President Ayub agreed with me. He said he was also very upset that innocent people should be killed and injured and that he was keen that a solution should be found to this problem. But since then President Ayub has not mentioned the matter again. It may be that he has been preoccupied with other things, perhaps the elections they have been having. But we are still clear in our minds that we want to settle the border issues between ourselves by peaceful means. We are prepared to have discussions but it would not be advisable to link everything up with the Kutch issue. If we did that the problem would get unnecessarily complicated and knotty. That is something we should avoid. As I said, we must at all times be acutely aware of the crucial and important task which is before us ; and that task is protecting and safeguarding the sovereignty and freedom of the country.

President Ayub has been talking of war. Two or three of his recent statements have contained threats of war. We do not wish to use such language or threaten Pakistan in return. It does not behove us ; nor does it behove President Ayub. The Press, the leaders and ministers in Pakistan seem to have launched a campaign of hatred against India. No good can come of this and nobody will gain thereby. In any case, if Pakistan persists in talking of war, all that we can say is that we are fully alive to our responsibilities and we shall fulfil them, come what may. What I would like to say is that the country should be prepared for all eventualities. We do not know what turn things will take ; one thing is certain and that is that all of us, all the men and women of this country, will have to muster their courage and strength to meet the situation. We should be prepared to defend our towns and cities with all our might. We should no more be afraid of bombs or aeroplanes. I have no doubt in my mind that if this potential threat to our sovereignty should become real, millions of people in this country will turn into soldiers overnight. It is not only a question of fighting on the front. If millions of

people resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder, determine to fulfil every demand that the country makes upon them, we shall have unlimited strength. It is not an army alone that fights a war but a whole people. The real strength of an army depends on the extent to which the nation is behind it, on the unity of the nation. We must no longer quarrel amongst ourselves over communal and linguistic issues because such activities only sap a nation's strength.

7. PRIORITY FOR KUTCH SETTLEMENT

THE SECURITY OF the country is in danger and it is necessary to build up effective strength to meet the danger. There is hardly any border which is not live, be it West Bengal, Assam, Tripura or Kutch. Rajasthan was also under some kind of a threat from Pakistan. Naturally it is for the Army to defend the borders but the Army must have positive sanctions behind it — the sanction of the people as well as the sanction of peace and communal harmony.

Pakistan's aggression in the Rann of Kutch created a very special situation for us. In 1962, China invaded our territory. The country had since been trying to strengthen its defences. Now, this sudden development in Kutch has added to the problems facing the country.

We responded to the U.K. Prime Minister's proposals constructively and we were prompt in our replies. But later, Pakistan raised several points in regard to the British proposals and since then there has been a further exchange of letters between the U.K. Prime Minister and ourselves. We are far off from arriving at any kind of agreement. I do not know what will happen ultimately but I did make it clear to the U.K. Prime Minister that this matter could not continue in this way for long. We have to come to a decision one way or the other.

We are quite clear that Pakistan has to vacate the Rann of Kutch, that is, they cannot remain in any of the posts they have established, Kanjarkot, Biarbet or Point 84.

The restoration of the *status quo* means the position as it obtained on January 1, 1965. India has also made it clear that the Kutch problem has to be settled before other border problems are taken into consideration. Not that India did not want to discuss and settle other border problems but she did not want other problems to be tagged on to the Kutch problem. Therefore, we have made it quite clear that the Kutch problem has to be tackled first and then we can certainly take up other problems.

If we can avoid this conflict being converted into a major one, we should certainly do so. But if some kind of major conflict is forced on us, then there is no alternative and we have to accept whatever comes to us and we must face the situation and reply to it in the best possible manner. We know what we are. We are a united country. There may be differences or quarrels but when the security of the country is threatened, I have no doubt that from north to south and from east to west we will rise as one man.

8. THE CEASE-FIRE

SINCE I LAST spoke to you, several important events have taken place. Some have shocked us and caused us all the greatest anxiety and others have given us renewed confidence and faith in our ability to march ahead as a people and as a nation.

During the last few weeks I have travelled abroad and visited several countries. For me personally this was truly a voyage of discovery. Wherever I went, I was received with cordiality and affection by Governments and peoples. This was truly a welcome to the 470 million people of India whom I represented. The current series of visits began with a trip to the Soviet Union. In many ways this was a memorable visit. The U.S.S.R. Government and the people have abiding friendship for the people of India and they have stood by us all along, even in periods of stress and strain. They are anxious to be of increasing help in our economic development. This has been a very useful visit indeed.

Later I was able to visit Canada and also attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, stopping for a day in Cairo on my way. In all these countries there is goodwill for India in abundance. They are all our friends and our mutual relations are bound to get strengthened further. I need hardly talk to you in detail about the very close and friendly relations that bind the United Arab Republic and India. Canada is another country which has been consistently friendly to India and particularly helpful in the efforts that we are making for our economic development and in the field of atomic energy. The reception accorded to me by the people of Canada was specially heart-warming.

For me the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was indeed a valuable experience. Heads of Governments of so many countries belonging to different continents had gathered together to discuss vital political and economic issues which were of common interest to all. Our deliberations and the conclusions we reached are bound to have an impact on current world events.

Wherever I went I found that the Indian people are held in high regard, as people who are wise and mature and whose adherence to peace is a matter not of expediency but of principle. Our self-restraint has been appreciated and we are regarded as a people who can be trusted and relied upon to pursue a rational course of action. The image of India is that of a large and stable democracy in an area which is of vital importance to the peace of the world.

Though the countries that I visited have different systems of economy and polity, I was struck most by the unanimity in their sincere and ardent desire for peace in the world. The Soviet Union in particular has gone through the horrors of war on its own soil in which millions of precious lives were lost. The people there are, therefore, naturally anxious that there should be no recurrence of war.

The Canadians have worked together with Indians in U.N. peace-keeping operations in different parts of the globe.

In all countries I visited, there was sincere appreciation of the peaceful policies which India has pursued ever since the attainment of Independence. I explained to the leaders of various governments that India was firmly wedded to the path of peace. At the same time, I state clearly that adherence to peaceful policies could not possibly stand in the way of the preservation of our sovereignty and territorial integrity. Inevitably the Indo-Pakistan dispute in regard to the Kutch-Sind border came up for discussion at certain places. Naturally there was great anxiety and also apprehension about a possible escalation of the border conflict. I explained to them our point of view and stated that despite the gravest possible provocation, we had acted with great self-restraint and that we were still willing to walk along the path of peace provided aggression was immediately vacated.

I know you have all been greatly concerned about the aggression that was committed on the Kutch border by Pakistan. Unfortunately, the relations between our two countries have not been happy and they were thrown into the gravest peril by an armed attack on our border positions. We defended our territorial integrity and made it known that the continuance of warlike operations would compel us to take such measures as appeared to be necessary for the preservation of our freedom. We also made it clear that aggression had to be vacated and that too with the least possible delay if an escalation of the conflict was to be avoided. Subsequently, there was an intervention by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson. We made it clear that there could be no cease-fire without a simultaneous agreement about the vacation of aggression and the restoration of *status quo* as on 1st January, 1965. Our basic stand in this matter was repeatedly stated in Parliament.

As you would have read from this morning's papers a cease-fire agreement has become effective from early this morning. Simultaneously,

Pakistan has agreed to the withdrawal of her armed forces from the area. On our part we have indicated that since we have no desire to keep up a war-like atmosphere, we would withdraw our troops from the present forward positions so that the possibility of a clash is obviated. On the question of patrolling, both sides have agreed that the position as it obtained on the 1st January, 1965, will be restored.

There will be no military or even police post of Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch and thus the aggression in this area is to be clearly and fully vacated. We had to agree to the patrolling of the Ding-Surai track, which in part passes through our territory, by Pakistan police as a part of the restoration of the *status quo ante* as on 1st January, 1965.

This limited patrolling on a specific track is the only right available to Pakistan under the agreement so far as the Rann of Kutch is concerned. India will, of course, continue to patrol from Chad Bet to Kanjarkot via Karim Shahi. The track passes through Biarbet and Vigokot. We will also re-establish our earlier police posts. India's civil control over this area will thus be fully restored.

It is good that eventually reason has prevailed and a situation full of the gravest possible consequences has not been allowed to get out of hand. The recent events have clearly established that the use of force cannot really settle any problem.

My countrymen, I feel unhappy within myself to have to talk about conflicts and tensions. I stand unreservedly for peace, because apart from other wider considerations, peace is vital for the economic development of our country. We have to fight the scourge of poverty, disease and ignorance. We have to produce more goods and more services to meet even the bare minimum requirements of our people. We have to fulfil the promise that we made to our people when the country attained Independence in August 1947. Since then we have come quite a distance, but the road ahead is still long and arduous. We are determined to march ahead and to overcome the many difficulties that lie in our way. Some of the problems that we have to face sometime appear to be insurmountable. Take for instance, the foreign exchange difficulty. Our earnings on the export front are yet not enough to finance the purchase of raw materials and other essentials we must import from abroad.

We have had to impose severe restrictions on imports. It seems the country will have to go in for greater discipline and hardship in the coming months. While any assistance from international institutions and friendly countries can be most helpful we have got to ensure that the serious disparity between our earnings and expenditure of foreign exchange is reduced to the minimum in the shortest possible time. Exports have to be encouraged in every way and imports have to be restricted severely. This provides a challenge to our industry to make the best possible use of indigenously available resources. In fact that will not be enough. All ingenuity and

resources have to be mobilised to keep up and in fact to accelerate the pace of production. I would ask the men of business and industry to consider how best they can help themselves and the country in this difficult situation. Our food problem, though easier now, is by no means resolved. Though our food production has shown a substantial increase, our population is also increasing at a rapid pace. Whereas we have to give a further fillip to our efforts to improve food production, we have simultaneously to concentrate on an intensive programme of family planning and population control.

There is one other aspect of the food problem which I would like to stress specially. While increased production is undoubtedly the need of the hour the avoidance of waste is equally important. When the country is obliged to import foodgrains from abroad, every possible care has to be exercised to secure the maximum economy in use. Ostentation and a multiplicity of courses at meals are totally out of place today. Hotels and restaurants should implement a policy of restraint and private individuals should also consider it their duty towards the country to ensure that there is no wastage.

Before I conclude I want to refer to only one other matter. While we all desire that the economic condition of our people should improve, we have to be equally aware of the methods that have to be followed if this objective is to be achieved in a reasonable span of time. No country in this world has been able to make progress without hard and dedicated work and without a determined and united national will. We in India have decided to set up by democratic means a society in which the basic necessities of life will be assured to all. This task is truly Herculean. We have all to strive together. At this particular stage of our development we have all to give our best to the country and that is possible only if we function as a united people in a disciplined manner. That way alone we can build up our economic and political strength. And let us not forget that the standing and the prestige of a country depend very largely on what the country can do for itself. Such an effort is well within our reach. For this we all have to recapture the old spark of the days of our freedom struggle and to go ahead with self-confidence.

I want to feel the glow of belonging to a great country which has inspiring traditions and a glorious future ahead. I want you all to participate physically and emotionally in the adventure of building up a new India.

9. NO BARTERING AWAY OF SOVEREIGNTY

OUR COUNTRY IS great. It has a glorious past. It has always had a great heritage and tradition. Therefore we have many things to preserve. This Archives, I am quite sure, will be very helpful to the research students. And as you have said, it is near the University, so it would be further useful and helpful. It is true, what happened in the past is preserved in this building. But as you know, the present is also in no way less important. Of course, we cannot forget the past. It is the past which is projected in the present and it has its own impact on the future also. But, however, I want to refer to the important events which are taking place in the present. We are making history and sometime later documents on these events will find a place in your Archives or in the Central Archives.

The Chief Minister just now referred to the Kutch agreement. As you know, we were deeply shocked over the attack by Pakistan on Indian territory. I said to some of the important persons of Pakistan that we have been all these years cursing each other. We have been almost on abusive terms. I asked them if they did not find it enough to have gone a step further and used their forces and arms to intrude into our territory. I thought this was the limit. Yet I told them that we stood for peace, but of course, subject to the principle that the honour and dignity of our country is not soiled. If that had been possible I was not the one who would ever like to think in terms of waging a war.

I had made it quite clear in Parliament as well as outside, that if the aggression is vacated, we would be prepared to meet and discuss. I had also said that if our discussions do not succeed, if they are not fruitful, then we would be prepared to refer the matter to an impartial tribunal. But the basic point, as I said, was the vacation of aggression, the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from every part of the Rann of Kutch and the removal of all posts. They had set up a police post and then later on an army post in Kanjarkot. I had said that Kanjarkot has also to be vacated, similarly Biarbet and other posts. And what does this agreement actually say? The agreement, of course, declares a cease-fire, and the cease-fire was declared on the first of this month at 6.00 or 6.30 a.m. Then it further says that the troops will be withdrawn within a week's time and after that there will be police patrolling. Well, the troops have already started withdrawing. As you know, about two months back the U.K. Prime Minister sent a proposal that the *status quo ante* should be established, i.e. the position as obtained on January 1, 1965, has to be restored. I mentioned this in Parliament and I spoke about this outside also. It was generally agreed that if the *status quo ante* is established we should be

prepared to meet and have further talks and discussions. Now what we have agreed to is patrolling on a track Ding to Surai. These are the two points between which there is a track, not actually a road as such, but just a marshy land. Because of the vehicles moving up and down, it has become somewhat firmer and therefore it is used as a track. As was the position on January 1, we have agreed that the police should patrol on that track.

We patrol almost in the whole of the Rann of Kutch. We begin somewhere from Chadbet which is practically at the western corner of the Rann of Kutch. Then we go to the south and then again to the north—Chadbet to Karimshahi, Vigokot and then Kanjarkot. Of course, Kanjarkot is completely vacated, and we go right up to Kanjarkot. There may be sometimes Pakistani police patrol, they are also there, I mean at some points. Our police patrol and their police patrol might meet. However, I hope there will be no clash between the police of the two countries. Pakistan wanted to patrol in a much larger area, they wanted to go up to Vigokot, about six miles down below the international frontier. However, those are past stories. I need not go into them. So far as police patrolling is concerned, Pakistan has the right to patrol on that track which is partly in the Indian territory just below the international borders and frontiers and part of it is in Pakistan. We have to remember that all this is for a temporary period. This is not a permanent arrangement. This is with a view to having further talks amongst ourselves.

The reference to the tribunal has been agreed to in accordance with the agreement which was arrived at between Pakistan and India sometime in October or November 1959. There were talks between 1959 and 1960 and it was decided in those discussions that in regard to our differences there will be talks at the official level and if they do not come to an agreement then at the ministerial level; and if even the ministers of the two countries do not agree, it should be referred to a tribunal, of which one person will be named by India, another by Pakistan and a third person, if possible, commonly agreed upon by the two countries. If we do not come to an agreement on the common nominee, then we will refer the matter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Of course, it was a precaution. It is just possible that we might be able to produce an agreed name. But in case it is not possible, we do not want the matter to be held up at that point and therefore we felt that there was no harm in referring the matter to the highest authority in the United Nations.

The question is often raised why a tribunal should be agreed to or accepted. As I said, we had no alternative; in accordance with the terms of the agreement of 1959 we have to accept a tribunal. We have already started thinking of who will be our representative and further we will also start thinking and consulting Pakistan about the third member of the tribunal. I do not say that there is no chance of the ministers meeting, discussing and coming to an agreement, but if they do not settle, if they do not

produce an agreed solution, then the matter has to be referred to a tribunal. And, as I said, we would like that this tribunal should be set up at the earliest and that it should take the least possible time. We are quite clear that our case is very strong, very very strong. All the documents, all the old maps clearly show as to where the international boundary lies. In regard to demarcation, etc., of course, in the Kutch and other borders there are some differences. We have clearly mentioned it in the agreement that there is no territorial dispute. Our position is that Sind and Kutch were two completely different areas before partition and the same is the position today. Kutch was a princely state, it has merged into Gujarat State and Sind has gone over to Pakistan. The boundary line, or the frontiers or the borders remain exactly the same as they were before. So we do not accept that there is any territorial dispute involved in it.

And we also would like to make it clear to you all that any question of bartering our sovereignty or our territorial integrity does not arise. We are quite clear, and I know what it means, that our sovereignty, our integrity is a matter on which there can be no bargaining. Yet in the world, wherever these boundary disputes or boundary differences have arisen, they have been settled more or less in this way. Most difficult situations have been referred to tribunals and we have done so earlier in our own country. But, as I said, after all we have faith in ourselves, in our case, and we have not bartered to Pakistan any part of our territory in the Rann of Kutch. We have complete civil control over the Rann. We are exactly in the same position in the Rann of Kutch today, except for that small patrolling, as we were a year before or six months before. These are rainy months. The area is under water. There is not much of patrolling during these months, say March or June to November or end of October. So, that being the position, the patrolling may not be on a very extensive scale. However, we have civil control over the whole area. We have not parted even with an inch of our territory. It is completely under us, under the Indian Union and under our full control, I mean the whole administrative set-up and pattern in that area.

I do think that by and large the people have appreciated our stand. There may be some criticisms. There are opposition parties. They may hold a different view. But I would like them to consider the whole matter coolly. It should not be considered purely from a narrow political angle. This is a national matter, a national problem and has, therefore, to be considered in a much wider context. The *status quo ante* has been established, that is, the position as it was on January 1, 1965. There will be no Pakistani troops at all in the Rann of Kutch. There will be no police patrolling by Pakistan in any part of that area except that track. India will have full, complete civil control and our police will patrol in a very large area of the Rann of Kutch. This being the position, I would like to ask whether we have bartered away our sovereignty or the integrity of our country. I

would have been the last man to do it.

It was a most difficult thing for me, to wage a war, and especially to wage a war against Pakistan, which means so many complications. War with some other country would have meant something else, but with Pakistan, it would have been a much more serious and a much more complicated affair. And yet, for the sake of preserving the integrity and sovereignty of our country, we, as Government, were prepared to go to whatever extent it would have been possible. Therefore, I would like to appeal to you that we should not lightly take these agreements or the terms of these agreements. After all, India has been preaching peace. Pandit Jawaharlalji, our great distinguished leader, carried the message of peace throughout the world. He saved a number of situations in which there would have been a very big conflagration. At the time of the Suez Canal incident, it was our great Prime Minister who was greatly helpful in averting the crisis. So when we talk of peace or trouble we have to face and we get excited over, let us not take the path of force so long as there is a chance of a peaceful settlement; otherwise we would not be true to ourselves, to our principles and our policies which we have pursued all these years. So, if it is possible to settle this matter peacefully, I think our country should accept it and it should lend its fullest support to the Government of India. I do hope that I shall get it from you and from other parts of India.

10. ON THE CROSSROADS OF HISTORY

THE HOUSE WILL recall that the last session of the Lok Sabha devoted considerable time and attention, and rightly so, to the developing situation between India and Pakistan on the Kutch-Sind border culminating in the incursions committed by Pakistani armed forces in the Rann of Kutch. I had made a number of statements in the House. It would be recalled that as a result of Pakistani armed intrusions into the Rann of Kutch and their aggression committed against us, there was serious danger of a military conflict between India and Pakistan, which, in the very nature of things, could not have been confined merely to the Kutch-Sind Border. As I said in my statement in this august House on April 28, that was one of the most fateful moments of our times and both India and Pakistan stood poised at the crossroads of history. I made it quite clear then and afterwards that we are a nation pledged to peace, but that, at the same time, we are determined to defend our country.

Throughout those difficult days we were subjected to great provocation.

Pakistan did everything to wash away the bridges of peace and to engulf the two countries in a military conflict, the consequences of which would have been grave for both. However, the firm steps that we took, including the despatch of troops to the frontiers to meet the threat posed by the concentration of troops on the other side, made Pakistan realise that it could not hope to get away with aggression.

I cannot but make a reference to the present situation as it exists in Kashmir. It is a new situation, full of the most serious potentialities. A large number of raiders in civilian disguise but heavily armed have come across the cease-fire line and are indulging in serious acts of sabotage and destruction. These raiders are being spotted out and dealt with firmly and effectively. The number of those killed, wounded and captured is now fairly large. Our valiant security forces, both army and police, are acting with exemplary valour.

The two situations to which I have made a reference arose at different points of time and I have no doubt whatsoever that the manner in which the Government dealt with them was the best possible in the circumstances. I would urge the House to consider the Gujarat-West Pakistan Border Agreement in the light of the stand the Government had taken while Parliament was still in session and which was stated in this august House on more than one occasion.

May I now refer to the Gujarat-West Pakistan Border Agreement in some detail. As the House is aware, on April 28, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson, wrote to me and to President Ayub Khan expressing great concern at the situation that had developed in regard to the Kutch-Sind border. He suggested a cease-fire to be followed by withdrawal of troops and restoration of the *status quo* as on 1st January, 1965, and thereafter talks between the two Governments. These proposals basically conformed to the stand consistently taken by the Indian Government in the fruitless exchange of notes which had taken place between the Governments of India and Pakistan in the months of March and April. I, therefore, replied to Mr. Wilson accepting these principles. Thereafter followed a long process of negotiations on details through the intermediary of the U.K. High Commissioners in India and Pakistan and the U.K. Government. Eventually, on the 30th June, 1965, an agreement was signed between India and Pakistan.

The main elements of this Agreement are : A cease-fire on both sides to be followed by withdrawal of forces and restoration of *status quo* as prevailing on the 1st January, 1965. Once these are accomplished, there is to be a meeting between the Ministers of India and Pakistan and if such meeting is unable to resolve the boundary issue, a three-man impartial tribunal is to be constituted to give its findings on the subject. A time table is set out in the Agreement for these various steps. The withdrawal of forces from the Rann of Kutch is to be completed "within

seven days of the cease-fire. Restoration of the *status quo* in its entirety, including resumption of normal police patrolling, is to be completed within a month from the date of cease-fire. The Ministers' meeting is to conclude discussions within two months and the tribunal is to be set up within four months of the cease-fire.

The Agreement is in conformity with the Indo-Pakistan Border Agreements of 1959 and 1960. In connection with the latter, I would like to recall that those Agreements were placed before the House on the 16th November, 1959, and 9th February, 1960, respectively and statements thereon had then been made by the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Minister of State, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.

Hon'ble Members will recall that in my statement before the House in the last session, I had said that we would agree to talks but only if Pakistan's aggression was vacated and the *status quo ante* was restored. I had also stated that Pakistan would have to vacate Kanjarkot. All this has been complied with. There is no Pakistani post now in Kanjarkot. Biarbet and other points which they had occupied have also been vacated.

As regards patrolling also, the position would be restored as on 1st January, 1965. The officials of the two Governments have met to sort out details.

I should like to say a few words with regard to the *status quo ante*. The agreement restores the *status quo* as on 1st January, 1965. Generally speaking, implicit in the concept of *status quo* is adherence to a position prevailing at a given time. In agreeing to the restoration of the *status quo ante*, we have not introduced any new principle.

The question as to what was the actual position in regard to various matters on the 1st January, 1965, was one of fact and not of any sovereign rights. The restoration of that position was considered essential in order to get Pakistan's aggression vacated—aggression which Pakistan had committed in April, 1965. The interim period, while the question of demarcation of the boundary is being pursued, would be of a short-term duration. As I have said, already there is a definite time table for the entire work to be completed even if it becomes necessary to refer the matter to a tribunal. It is perfectly clear that the boundary would be demarcated on the basis of documentary evidence and the *de facto* interim position would have no relevance whatsoever.

One matter about the Agreement which has caused some comment is that of patrolling. On this question also, the actual position obtaining on the 1st January, 1965, had to be restored. The Pakistan Government put forward the claim before the United Kingdom Government, who were acting as the intermediary, that it was patrolling on that date over a wide area in the Rann of Kutch. This claim was found to be without foundation except with regard to a small track close to the international

border, over which Pakistani patrols were said to have passed while moving from Ding to Surai, both of which lay in Pakistani territory. This position had to be accepted as part of the overall restoration of the *status quo ante*, on which, from the very beginning, India had taken a firm stand. I should make it clear, however, that the use of this track does not in any manner confer any rights on Pakistan. The authority of India is complete and extends to the whole of the Rann of Kutch.

A few words more about Kashmir before I conclude. All my colleagues and I myself share fully the grave anxiety which, I know, fills the minds of all Hon'ble Members. As the Hon'ble Members are aware, the armed raiders have crossed the cease-fire line deceitfully in civilian disguise. According to information available and as has just now been said by the Defence Minister, these people had been specially trained to indulge in acts of sabotage and destruction by the armed forces and officers of Pakistan. Our security forces are dealing with these raiders in the only manner appropriate to the situation. Amongst those arrested there are some officers and from the statements made by the prisoners it would appear that the present operations have been planned and are being directed with the approval of the highest authorities in Pakistan.

The situation in Kashmir is completely under control. The raiders are being tracked down even with the help of the local population. It may take a little time to apprehend all the raiders but the operations are proceeding satisfactorily. The Government and the people of Kashmir are prepared to face the challenge and I would like to pay my tributes to the courage of the people and the boldness and determination shown by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir under the distinguished leadership of G.M. Sadiq Sahib.

Hard days lie ahead, but we have to face the future with bold resolution. The price of freedom is paid not once but continuously. We have to be prepared as a country to pay that price.

So far as the Government is concerned, we have dealt with the developing situation, whether in relation to Kutch or in relation to Kashmir, in the best manner possible in the circumstances. The Government will continue to do so in the days ahead but their hands would be greatly strengthened by the mighty support it gets from this House.

11. NO CASE OF SURRENDER

THE HON'BLE MEMBERS would recall that in my statements in this House in the last session I had stated that we would agree to a cease-fire only on the basis of a simultaneous agreement for the restoration of the *status quo* as on the 1st January, 1965. It was also stated by me that Kanjarkot in particular would have to be vacated, so also Biarbet and other points forcibly occupied by Pakistan. This was the situation when the last session of this august House came to a close. Subsequently we were informed that Pakistan had agreed to the vacation of aggression and to the restoration of the *status quo* as on 1st January, 1965. It was in this context that the Government of India signed a Cease-fire Agreement effective from the 1st July, 1965. Following this, Pakistani armed forces had to withdraw completely from the soil of India and the various posts which Pakistan had set up, whether of army or of police, were removed. In other words, the basic conditions laid down by us were duly complied with. Pakistan has no army anywhere in the Rann of Kutch now nor does it have any police post.

As a part of the restoration of the *status quo* we have agreed to the patrolling by the Pakistani police on a small track within the Indian territory close to the international border. A temporary agreement on our part to Pakistan police patrols using this track while moving from Ding to Surai, both in Pakistan, cannot and does not amount to any territorial rights being vested in Pakistan. This arrangement will last only till the boundary has been demarcated. There is one other point which I wish to make before this House for the dispassionate consideration of the Hon'ble Members. I know that such consideration becomes difficult in the context of the subsequent developments which have taken place in Kashmir—an aspect to which I will revert a little later. For the moment I would request the Hon'ble Members to consider this matter only in relation to the conditions that were obtaining at the time when the Agreement was negotiated.

The terms of the Agreement were settled through negotiations and they were not laid down by one party or the other. I would urge that the Agreement be viewed in its totality. The acceptance of the *de facto* position in regard to patrolling was in no case a surrender of our sovereignty.

During the last session of Parliament, I had stated that if Pakistan vacated the aggression and the *status quo ante* was restored, we would be willing to revert to the procedures agreed to earlier between the two Governments for the demarcation of the boundary. The Agreements of 1959 and 1960 include provision to this effect. A discussion at official level has already taken place to settle certain details. This was

to have been followed by discussion at the Ministers' level. In the event of a failure of the talks, the matter was to be referred to an impartial tribunal for a final decision.

We have given the most earnest consideration to every aspect of this Agreement and have come to the conclusion that we should abide by it and implement it. We have, at the same time, recognised that no useful purpose will be served by a meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries to see if agreement could be reached, and a reference to the tribunal was rendered necessary thereby. It became quite clear to us during the last few days that in the present state of tension which has been created by Pakistan, no agreement at Ministers' level was even remotely possible. We, therefore, took the initiative in having the meeting cancelled and the matter will now go to the tribunal, as in terms of the Agreement it was to go if no agreement between Ministers could be reached.

I would at this stage like to explain why the Agreement refers both to the determination and the demarcation of the boundary. It has been the Government of India's consistent stand that the boundary in question is already well established and officially settled and that what remains to be done is its demarcation on the ground. On this point, however, Pakistan has had a difference of opinion with us. Pakistan's contention has been that the boundary is yet to be determined. This difference had to be resolved either by negotiations or by reference to an impartial tribunal. The Government of India had accepted this position in the 1959 and 1960 Agreements. The present Agreement also provides for the observance of the same procedure. The claim of the Government of India that there is already a well established boundary has been clearly stated in the body of the Agreement. Pakistan has stated its own case also. As I have already stated, the matter will now go to a tribunal which will give its verdict on the alignment of the boundary. Once the boundary has been determined in this manner, the next step of demarcation on the ground would be taken.

As I had said earlier, we have in this Agreement also adhered to the earlier stand that there is no territorial dispute involved. We have clearly stated our stand in the Agreement. The apprehension that the Agreement converts the dispute from one of border into that of territory is not well founded. Even Pakistan refers primarily and basically to the border. The actual words used are :

"Pakistan's claim that the border between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch runs roughly along the 24th Parallel is clear from several pre-partition and post-partition documents and therefore the dispute involves some 3,500 miles of territory."

The extract which I have just now read from the Agreement clearly shows that Pakistan also is referring to the alignment of the border. Its contention, however, is that instead of the boundary running to the north

of the Rann of Kutch, it runs along the 24th Parallel. And this claim Pakistan seeks to base on pre-partition and post-partition documents. The question for determination then, according to both India and Pakistan, is that of the subsisting border between the two countries on the basis of documentary evidence.

I would also like to add that it does not, of course, follow that wherever Pakistan raises trouble, we should immediately agree to refer the matter to a tribunal. We can never be forced into such a decision. Kashmir certainly does not come into this category at all. There is no border problem involved in it.

The general view held in Parliament at the time when the Rann of Kutch problem was being debated was that, if at all possible, we should try to settle the matter peacefully. This basic position has been complied with. We had already demonstrated that our professions in regard to peace were being followed by us in practice. It is absolutely incorrect to suggest that we had bought peace at the expense of our territory. I think that the course we adopted at that time was the course of wisdom and it is somewhat natural that we should see things in the present context. But we have to realise that this Agreement was arrived at in a different context altogether. It would certainly be advisable that this Agreement is kept absolutely separate from the border disputes on our frontiers in other areas. Kashmir, as I have said, does not come into the picture at all. That the matter in dispute is one of border is also brought out in the subsequent provisions of the Agreement. For instance, the contents of Article 3(1)(C) of the Agreement refer only to the determination of the border. Even with reference to the verdict of the tribunal, both the Governments jointly state in the Agreement that the issue before the tribunal will be that of the determination of the border.

I would also like to make it clear that the tribunal would not be called upon to lay down a new boundary between India and Pakistan. The tribunal's sole task would be to identify and to determine the boundary between India and Pakistan in this sector after partition and after the accession of the State of Kutch to India. Moreover, such identification or determination would have to proceed solely on the basis of evidence produced and not on the basis of any other considerations.

In regard to the work of the tribunal, the Agreement clearly provides that the decision will be given on the basis of evidence produced before it, indicating clearly that no decision can be taken on any extraneous considerations.

Some people have criticised the fact that neither Indians nor Pakistanis would serve on the tribunal. In their view it would have been better to have had one Indian, one Pakistani and one foreigner only. On the other hand, we felt that if the tribunal is composed of men of proved international reputation and ability a decision on merits would no doubt

be assured. Nor would it be reasonable to assume that the members of the tribunal would be swayed by any considerations other than those of merits.

CHAPTER II

WAR IN THE VALLEY

1. NEED FOR VIGILANCE

FRİENDS, I WANT to speak to you tonight about the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. The events of the last few days have caused us all deep concern and great anxiety. I would like to tell you first what has actually happened and how things stand today.

About a week ago, the Government received information that armed infiltrators from Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir had crossed the cease-fire line in civilian disguise and that they were indulging in sabotage and destruction at a number of places. During these few days, the raiders have attacked strategic places, such as bridges, police stations and petrol depots, and they have obviously acted according to a plan prepared for them by those in Pakistan who are directing these operations. There is no doubt that this is a thinly disguised armed attack on our country organised by Pakistan and it has to be met as such. Our valiant security forces, both army and police, are meeting the situation firmly and effectively. Swift action has since been taken to locate the infiltrators. Several engagements have occurred at a number of places and heavy casualties have been inflicted. So far, 126 infiltrators have been killed. Our security forces have also captured 83 officers and men. Other groups have since been surrounded and are about to be apprehended. Mopping-up operations are now in progress and Pakistan's latest attempt at creating disorder in Kashmir is being crushed. No quarter will be given to the saboteurs. We have, of course, to be continuously vigilant in Kashmir because the possibility of attempts being made to create further trouble cannot be ruled out.

Pakistan has, on the one hand, sought to deny its complicity and, on the other, she has put herself forward as the chief spokesman for the infiltrators. The world will recall that Pakistan had created a similar situation in 1947 and then also she had initially pleaded innocence. Later, she had to admit that her own regular forces were involved in the fighting.

Pakistan is trying to conjure up the spectre of some people in revolt; she is talking of some revolutionary council and of a lot of other things. All this is a mere figment of Pakistan's imagination. Pakistani propaganda is blatantly and completely untrue. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have shown remarkable fortitude. They still remember how the Pakistani raiders pillaged and plundered Kashmir on an earlier occasion. There is no revolution in Kashmir nor is there any revolutionary council. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have, in fact, themselves given the lie to Pakistan's propaganda.

The more important question before us now is not that of the infiltrators and their activities, because we are quite clear about what to do with them. The real question is that of our relations with Pakistan.

In April last, they committed naked aggression on our Kutch border. We acted with great restraint and forbearance despite serious provocation. We left them in no doubt, however, that if they did not vacate the aggression forthwith, we would have to take requisite military steps to get the aggression vacated. Eventually, the armed forces of Pakistan had to go back from the Indian soil and it was reasonable to hope that our mutual relations might take a turn for the better.

In this context, it is amazing that Pakistan should have embarked upon yet another adventure. On this occasion, the method adopted and the strategy used show signs of a new tutelage, possibly a new conspiracy. Only one conclusion is now possible and it is this: Pakistan has probably taken a deliberate decision to keep up an atmosphere of tension. Peace apparently does not suit her intentions. We have, therefore, to reckon with this situation in a realistic manner.

We have to consider how best to deal with the dangers that threaten our country. We have also to state our views categorically so that there are no miscalculations.

If Pakistan has any ideas of annexing any part of our territories by force, she should think afresh. I want to state categorically that force will be met with force and aggression against us will never be allowed to succeed. I want also to tell our brothers and sisters in Kashmir that the people of the entire country stand solidly with them, ready to make any sacrifice for the defence of our freedom. I know that every young man in our country is prepared today to make even the supreme sacrifice so that India may continue to live with her head aloft and her banner high.

When freedom is threatened and territorial integrity is endangered, there is only one duty—the duty to meet the challenge with all our might.

We must all fully realise that the country faces its severest trial today. At this hour, across our vast borders are massed forces which threaten our continuance as a free and independent country. We have all to stand together firmly and unitedly to make any sacrifice that may be necessary. In normal times, we may well have our individual loyalties—loyalties to policies and programmes about which there can be genuine differences of opinion amongst different sections and groups. That is an essential part of our democratic set-up. But when our very freedom and sovereignty are threatened, all these loyalties have to be subordinated to that ultimate loyalty—loyalty to the Motherland. I appeal to all my countrymen to ensure that our unity is strengthened and our internal peace and harmony are not disturbed in any manner. Anyone who acts to the contrary will be acting against the interests of the country. I want to make it known that we shall allow no quarter to anyone who indulges in anti-national activities.

In another two days, we shall complete 18 years of Independence after centuries of foreign rule. Each year shows a thinning out of the generation which strove, struggled and suffered in order that the generations to come may live in freedom. Each year sees a higher proportion of our people for whom foreign rule is something to be read about in history books and not a part and parcel of their own personal experience. This is particularly true of the student community in schools and colleges. They are fortunate that they live their lives in freedom; but it would be unfortunate if they take freedom for granted or forget that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Undoubtedly, we are passing through perilous times. But these are also the times of great opportunities. With unity among ourselves, and with faith in our future, we should do all we can to preserve our freedom and sovereignty and should march ahead confidently towards the attainment of the national objectives which we have set for ourselves.

2. INVASION WILL BE REPULSED

A FEW DAYS back, we were attacked by Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch. We faced the attack adequately. We had made it clear that unless Pakistan withdrew from Kutch completely, there would be no talks. This has been achieved. Pakistan has withdrawn from Kutch. She has no troops, no police and no posts in Kutch. India has complete civil control over the territory. An Agreement to this effect was signed. India accepted the Agreement as she was not in favour of disturbance of peace

in any part of the world.

Even while we were negotiating about the implementation of this Agreement, Pakistan invaded Kashmir. I use the word invasion deliberately. It is absurd to say that civilian raiders have infiltrated into Kashmir from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Pakistan must bear full responsibility for the attack. Pakistan had banked upon an internal revolt in the wake of that attack. Pakistan intends to step up trouble in Kashmir. Under the circumstances, there is absolutely no scope for talks. We cannot even think of that. We want peace in Kashmir. But when we are attacked, it becomes the responsibility of the Government to meet force with force.

The people of Kashmir are facing the situation courageously. The Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs of Kashmir have stood up against the raiders unitedly. They are determined to throw out the raiders. The Kashmir Government headed by Shri G.M. Sadiq has handled the situation with courage. I congratulate the Kashmir Government and my brothers and sisters in Kashmir for their valour. On behalf of you all, I assure them that the nation stands solidly behind them, and our entire strength and resources are with them. We will throw out each one of the raiders. Our armed forces and our police are defending the border with courage. We are grateful to them.

A great responsibility rests on us. We must sink our differences. There is no place for agitations, *hartals* and movements. We have to march forward unitedly in order to remove the threat to our territorial integrity. If there are disturbances in the country, how can we defend our borders with single-minded devotion ? We should eschew communalism and casteism.

What is happening in Kashmir might not end in a matter of days. It is not as if the raiders would withdraw in a day or two. It is difficult to say how long this threat would last. Pakistan intended to annex Kashmir by force and it is likely that she would make it a prestige issue. We have our national self-respect too; we have certain responsibilities to discharge. I want to state categorically that Pakistan will not be allowed to take even an inch of our territory in Kashmir.

I am confident that every Indian will heed my appeal for unity and peace. We have to defend our borders and defeat the designs of those who cast an evil eye on us. The honour of the flag under which we stand today has to be upheld. We may perish, but we will not allow the honour of our flag to be sullied. India will continue to progress and prosper.

3. PAKISTAN'S COMPLICITY EXPOSED

WE FEEL DEEPLY concerned over the recent developments in Kashmir. A large number of raiders have entered the Kashmir Valley and they have done so in civilian disguise. They have all been trained by the Pakistan Army, and also fully armed and equipped. Their objective has been to create disruption and disorder in Kashmir, but their attempts have been effectively foiled. The entire world now knows the whole truth about the situation in Kashmir.

The complicity of Pakistan has been exposed. The fighting which has been unleashed by Pakistan deceitfully through her armed personnel in civilian disguise, is contrary to every known canon of behaviour even in times of war. By now, Pakistan must know that her adventures will cost her dearly and that they will not be allowed to succeed. The calculations of Pakistan in regard to the attitude of the local population have proved wrong. They have resisted the raiders and cooperated with the authorities.

The security forces, both army and police, have shown gallantry of a very high order. They have had to face an opponent in sneaking disguise, which makes their task all the more difficult. But they have met the situation most effectively. They are combing out the raiders and this process would be pursued and they will be allowed no quarter.

In many ways the new challenge is unprecedented. We have to be careful and cautious. We cannot afford to have any internal quarrels in the present state of affairs. I would appeal to the nation that we have to stand as one man and put aside our disputes and differences, to say the least, for a later date. I know our countrymen will not lag behind. We cannot afford to be complacent. We have to be watchful in regard to the situation in Kashmir and all possible steps will have to be taken to fight the present menace. I see no reason for us to feel deterred. The united might of 470 million people backed by dedication and a determination to defend our territorial integrity whatever the sacrifice, will provide the most effective answer to the present challenge. Let us show that we love not our comfort but our freedom. Let this lead go forth from this House to the people.

From a speech in the Rajya Sabha on August 19, 1965

4. HOUR OF CRISIS

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN : I speak to you tonight to acquaint you with the situation that has arisen as a result of Pakistan's aggression against us and to share with you the anxieties and the responsibilities devolving on us in this critical hour. As you know, on September 1 Pakistan mounted a heavy attack in brigade strength in the Chhamb sector of Jammu. The attack was supported by heavy artillery and tanks of the Pakistan army. Our armed forces went into action against them and knocked out several tanks and many army vehicles. Pakistan's initial thrust has been halted. An instance of what Pakistan is doing in that area is the bombing by the Pakistan Air Force of civilians, killing many men, women and children, as well as destroying a mosque. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are facing the situation with great fortitude. I wish to pay a warm tribute to our security forces. The whole nation is proud of them and has the fullest confidence in their ability to defend the country. The whole country stands behind them.

The attempt of the armed raiders who had entered Kashmir earlier to damage bridges and administrative and military centres and to commit other acts of sabotage has largely failed. The raiders failed also in enlisting the sympathy of the local population. In fact, they had to indulge in acts of loot and arson to sustain themselves. The raiders were able to move about in villages for a few days under the cover of darkness, but this phase is now over and many of the infiltrators have been driven to seek cover in thick jungles. The presence of these infiltrators within Kashmir and their sporadic attempts at sabotage make it essential that we should be constantly alert and vigilant.

The infiltrators were well armed with modern weapons and the whole operation was conceived, planned and executed by Pakistan. This, we believe, has been established beyond doubt in the reports submitted by the Chief Military Observer to the United Nations Secretary-General. These reports, in spite of our request, have not seen the light of the day. We have dealt successfully with hundreds of infiltrators and, as an inescapable measure of self-defence, we have to take military action to occupy certain strategic posts beyond the cease-fire line in order to block the routes of the infiltrators. Some bands of raiders are, however, still attempting to come in with the full backing of the Pakistan Army. Pakistan has denied responsibility for such infiltrations. The Pakistan Government has endeavoured to create the myth, and this myth has been reiterated in President Ayub Khan's broadcast of September 1, that the infiltrators are freedom fighters and that there is an internal revolt in Kashmir. The whole world knows that there is no revolt. The people of Kashmir have remained calm and have cooperated with the authorities in tracking

*With Prime Minister
and Mrs. Stambolic
of Yugoslavia*



*With Archbishop
Makarios,
President
of Cyprus*



*With President
Kekkonen of Finland*

*With Prime Minister
Lester B. Pearson
of Canada*



*Addressing the
Non-aligned
Nations' Conference
in Cairo*

*With the Presidents
of Yugoslavia
and Cyprus*



*After receiving
honorary doctorate
at McGill University,
Montreal, Canada*



*A hearty welcome
from the Federa-
tion of British
Industries*





*Talking to Soviet
Prime Minister
in Moscow*



*With Soviet
leaders at a
State reception
at the Kremlin*

down the infiltrators.

In 1947-48, Pakistan continued to deny for several months after she had sent her troops illegally into Kashmir that they were there. It was only in 1948, when the truth could no longer be hidden, that the Pakistan representative confessed to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan that Pakistani forces had been fighting in Kashmir for several months.

In the Agreement between India and Pakistan in connection with the Gujarat-West Pakistan border, signed on June 30 this year, Pakistan solemnly affirmed its hope that the Agreement would result in better relations and easing of tensions between India and Pakistan. The conscience of the world would be shocked to know that even at the time that this Agreement was being signed, Pakistan had already drawn up a plan of armed infiltrations into Kashmir and was training its personnel in Murree for the operations which were undertaken just over a month later, even before the ink was dry on the Agreement of June 30. Such conduct speaks for itself.

The Pakistani ruling circles accuse India of practising colonialism in Kashmir. President Ayub seems to have forgotten that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, juridically and in fact, is a part of India. The people of Kashmir are Indian citizens who enjoy all the rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India unlike their unfortunate brethren across the cease-fire line in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Let me add that our quarrel is not with the people of Pakistan. We wish them well; we want them to prosper and we want to live in peace and friendship with them.

What we are up against is a regime which does not believe in freedom, democracy and peace, as we do. It talks glibly of a plebiscite in Kashmir, while it is not prepared to have a free election in its own country. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir there have been three elections since 1949. What once was a princely state, ruled on dynastic principles, is now a State in our Federation under a constitution which guarantees civil rights, freedom of worship and free elections. How would Pakistan like a plebiscite in the Pakhtoon area to find out whether it wishes to remain a part of Pakistan ? How would Pakistan like a plebiscite in East Bengal to find out whether the people of East Bengal want to be ruled from Rawalpindi ?

What is at stake in the present conflict is a point of principle. Has any country the right to send its armed personnel to another with the avowed object of overthrowing a democratically elected Government ? I have received a communication from the Secretary-General of the United Nations containing an appeal to both sides to observe the cease-fire line. The Secretary-General has appealed both to Pakistan and

to India for peace. We believe in peace. We have worked for it and we shall never cease to work for peace.

Those who want peace will always have our support and cooperation, but they must face the realities of the situation. A cease-fire is not peace. We cannot simply go from one cease-fire to another and wait till Pakistan chooses to start hostilities again.

President Ayub, in his recent broadcast, referred to the conversation he had with me in October 1964. It is perfectly true that when I agreed to meet President Ayub I had done so with a desire to promote better understanding between India and Pakistan. He had brought up the Kashmir question and said that Pakistan felt strongly about this matter. At that time, I had told him in reply, in the clearest possible terms, that if public opinion in Pakistan was very strong on this matter, the Indian opinion was also equally strong, if not stronger than that in Pakistan. There was, therefore, no easy solution to this problem. I asked him to devote attention to other issues which were urgent, for instance, the question of continuous firing across the cease-fire line. President Ayub said that he was himself worried over this and was willing to have this position reviewed immediately. In fact he himself suggested a meeting of the commanders of the two sides to sort out this problem. When subsequently such an idea was mooted, Pakistan did not react favourably. President Ayub did raise the question of evictees and I also referred to the huge number of refugees coming into India. It was agreed between us that the Home Ministers of the two Governments should meet to discuss this matter. On my return to India, action was initiated for a meeting of the Home Ministers. Specific dates were suggested on more than one occasion, but Pakistan, on one pretext or another did not agree to our suggestions for quite some time. Eventually, November 23, 1964, was fixed and India's delegation was announced, but this meeting was called off by Pakistan on the ground that they were busy with their elections. These details I am mentioning because apparently President Ayub has forgotten them altogether. That can be the only reason for his having made the observations that he did.

What is the duty and responsibility of our citizens in this hour of serious crisis? Your foremost duty at the present moment is to do everything possible to ensure that peace is not disturbed and that communal harmony is maintained. There are no Hindus, no Muslims, no Christians, no Sikhs, but only Indians. I am confident that the people of this country who have given proof of their patriotism and common sense on so many occasions in the past, will stand united as one man to defend their country. We must all be on guard against mischief-makers and enemy agents who may try to instigate communal disturbances. The Government will deal firmly with any such persons.

Our security scheme in regard to Civil Defence measures is being

enforced with immediate effect in Punjab and Delhi. Later, it would be extended to additional areas. Those of you who are called upon to participate in this scheme should come forward and undertake the task in the spirit of a soldier at his post. Home Guards will be strengthened in the urban areas. I would like men and women to join the Home Guards in large numbers. To the industrial workers, I would like to address a personal appeal. I know of their patriotism and I am sure it would be uppermost in their minds. We have to maximise production in our industrial units and we have to maintain our communications, our harbours and our supply lines in a state of maximum efficiency. Every worker should make the best possible contribution he can towards the achievement of these objectives.

The men of business and industry have a very heavy responsibility in the present situation. The supply of essential consumer goods to the community must be maintained. Prices have not only to be maintained, they have to be brought down. Men engaged in the wholesale and retail trades must themselves exercise great restraint and serve the country at this time with a sense of patriotic duty.

The country has to prepare itself for hard days ahead. Everyone must perform his duty fully and faithfully. We may have to suffer damage from air raids. The nation must get into the mood which is necessary for undergoing sufferings and making sacrifices cheerfully. This is the price of freedom which we all have to pay. This is a call to the nation to rise and meet the challenge.

5. INDIA WILL NOT MOVE FROM ONE CEASE-FIRE TO ANOTHER

I APPRECIATE THE considerations that have prompted you to address an appeal to us and to Pakistan in connection with the recent developments in Jammu and Kashmir. Our Permanent Representative in New York has been in frequent touch with you and has kept you informed of the situation as it has developed since August 5. I have no doubt that from all the information that you have received from the United Nations Observers in Kashmir, and on the basis of your own assessment it is clear that the root cause of the present dangerous situation is the undertaking of massive infiltrations of armed personnel from the Pakistan side, well organised and trained in sabotage and subversive warfare, the whole operation being conceived, planned and executed by Pakistan.

The infiltrators are, in fact, members of the Pakistan armed forces. These infiltrations are still continuing. Such action by Pakistan is a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the cease-fire agreement and is against all canons of international law and code of good neighbourliness. It is to meet this thinly disguised invasion that the Government of India, while showing every forbearance, have been forced to take preventive military action.

In your message, you have appealed in the interests of peace that we should indicate our intention to respect the cease-fire agreement, that there should be a cessation of crossing of the cease-fire line by armed personnel from both sides of the line and a halt to all firing across the cease-fire line from either side of it. While I appreciate the motivations of your appeal, I have to point out that the terms of your message are such as might leave the impression that we are responsible equally with Pakistan for the dangerous developments that have taken place. Unless your message is read in the context of the realities of the situation as they have developed, it tends to introduce a certain equation between India and Pakistan, which the facts of the situation do not bear out. Indeed, it seems to me that your message has to be read in conjunction with the report that you have sent to the members of the Security Council.

I would like to take this opportunity of apprising you of the salient facts of the situation. Since August 5 several thousands of infiltrators from Pakistan and from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir have crossed the cease-fire line. These men have come camouflaged as civilians and fully armed with modern weapons, signal equipment, large quantities of ammunition and supplies and explosives. From the interrogation of the prisoners captured by us from among the infiltrators, many of whom are regular officers of the Pakistan Army, it is now known that a military headquarters was set up at Murree in West Pakistan in May 1965 under General Akhtar Husain Malik, General-Officer-Commanding, 12th Division of the Pakistan Army. This organisation is known as Military Headquarters "Gibraltar Force". Their instructions were to destroy bridges and vital roads, attack police stations, supply dumps, army headquarters and important installations, inflict casualties on Indian forces and attack VIPs in Jammu and Kashmir. The statements of the captured prisoners and the nature and type of weapons which the infiltrators carried, large quantities of which have been captured by us, bearing the markings of Pakistan ordnance factories, prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the infiltrators were armed and equipped by the Pakistan Government and have operated under their instructions.

Pakistan, however, has denied any knowledge of these armed infiltrations and persists in the theory that there is an internal revolt in Kashmir—a revolt which does not exist and has not been noticed by independent foreign observers. Since your message was sent the situation has

been further aggravated by a massive attack launched by two regiments of tanks and aircraft supported by Pakistani troops in brigade strength, across the cease-fire line and the international frontier between the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir and West Pakistan. The attack which is in great strength is aimed at our key positions controlling our lines of communications. Even on its own admission, as indicated in President Ayub Khan's broadcast of September 1, the Pakistani forces have gone to the assistance of the infiltrators whom Pakistan has chosen to call "Freedom Fighters". There is no pretence in it of any kind of defensive action and the Pakistani attack clearly constitutes aggression. The Pakistani attack is accompanied by the usual tactics of the aggressor, namely indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population. In a bombing raid on September 2, the Pakistan Air Force killed 50 civilians and injured an equal number in addition to the bombing of a mosque. We have to meet the situation created by this latest Pakistani aggression.

In your message, Mr. Secretary-General, you have yourself recognised that essential to the restoration of the cease-fire would be a cessation of the crossings of the cease-fire line by armed personnel. As I have indicated above, the root cause of the development of the present dangerous situation in Kashmir lies in the massive infiltrations of Pakistani armed personnel. Since the Pakistan Government disown responsibility for the armed infiltrations, your appeal to Pakistan so far as armed infiltrators are concerned can hardly be productive of results and the root cause of the trouble will remain.

India is a peace-loving country. We have neither the inclination nor is it in our interest to deviate from the path of peace and economic progress to that of military conflict. Pakistan has, however, by sending armed infiltrators in large numbers across the cease-fire line, brought about a situation in which we have no choice but to defend ourselves and we take such preventive action as may be deemed essential. In taking such preventive action we have had to cross in certain sectors the cease-fire line for the purpose of effectively preventing further infiltrations. This is a matter of great importance to us.

As to the cease-fire agreement, you are well aware that we have shown respect for the cease-fire line all these years though Pakistan has shown scant regard for it. Over the past two years, General Nimmo, Chief Military Observer, has made proposals for a meeting between the representatives of India and Pakistan with a view to ensuring the observance of the cease-fire agreement and preventing its violation from the Pakistan side by armed civilians. We have always accepted these proposals but Pakistan has either rejected them or not responded to them. In July 1964, we offered to come to a gentlemen's agreement with Pakistan to ensure tranquillity along the cease-fire line. Pakistan at first agreed to a meeting and the representatives of India and Pakistan were to meet in Karachi on the 2nd

November, 1964. However, a day before the meeting was to be held Pakistan postponed the meeting unilaterally and did not suggest any fresh date thereafter.

Pakistan's international behaviour is such as cannot be ignored in considering your appeal. It will be recalled that in 1947-48, Pakistan undertook action similar to the present one and persisted in denying its complicity for several months until the truth could no longer be hidden and it had no way but to admit to the United Nations' Commission for India and Pakistan in July 1948 that Pakistani forces had been fighting in Kashmir for several months. That act of Pakistan's aggression the United Nations seems to have forgotten, but that aggression is still with us and Pakistan continues to be in forcible occupation of 2/5th of our State of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is within your knowledge that in April this year, Pakistan launched a military attack on our territory in the Rann of Kutch, a clear case of use of force for the assertion of its claims which is forbidden by the Charter of the United Nations, the Bandung Declaration, the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, the Cairo Declaration and many other international declarations of our time. In spite of such provocation, we showed forbearance and reached an Agreement with Pakistan on the 30th June, 1965, for the peaceful settlement of the border question. The hope was solemnly expressed by both sides in the Agreement that it would result in better relations between India and Pakistan and in the easing of tensions between the two countries. It is now clear, however, that even when Pakistan was putting its signature to that Agreement it was planning and organising massive armed infiltrations across the cease fire line in Jammu and Kashmir and even before the ink was dry on that Agreement Pakistan launched thousands of its armed infiltrators across the cease-fire line to attack us at will, and we cannot go from one cease-fire to another without our being satisfied that Pakistan will not repeat its acts of violations and aggression in the future.

There is no other name but aggression for the massive Pakistani infiltrations across the cease-fire line and across the international frontier between Jammu and Kashmir and West Pakistan and the military attack that Pakistan has launched into our territory. That aggression throws on us, as a sovereign State, responsibilities for defence which it is our right and duty to discharge.

To sum up, I have taken this opportunity of acquainting you with all the aspects of the complex and dangerous situation that has been brought about by Pakistani actions. We owe it to you and to the high office you occupy with such distinction, to leave you in no doubt as to our position. Mr. Secretary-General, you have appealed for peace [and we greatly appreciate your anxiety and the sincerity of your efforts. India has always stood firmly for peace and our position needs no reiteration. What is

essential, however, today is that Pakistan should undertake forthwith to stop infiltrations across the cease-fire line and the international frontier between Jammu and Kashmir and West Pakistan. Furthermore, we would have to be satisfied that there will be no recurrence of such a situation. These have to be the starting points of any steps towards the restoration of peace for which you, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, are bending your efforts. I trust that, in the first instance, you will ascertain from Pakistan if it will accept the responsibility for withdrawing not only its armed forces but also the infiltrators and for preventing further infiltration. This, in fact, we take it, is the basic assumption underlying your appeal.

6. THE WAR IS ON

A GRIM BATTLE is ahead of us. We cannot simply gloat over it or feel very happy. Our responsibility has considerably increased. We will have to put in our best at every level and in every sector. The defence efforts will naturally receive the highest priority. Both the Army and the Air Force deserve our heartiest congratulations. The whole country must be happy over the laudable efforts of our armed forces. We must extend our tributes to them.

It has become obvious that Pakistan wanted to open another front and had its eyes on our territory in Punjab. There were several developments indicating this. Yesterday evening, the Pakistan Air force launched a rocket attack on our Air Force Unit in Amritsar from West Pakistan. Again, although Pakistan had all along denied its complicity, the whole operation was planned and directed from West Pakistan. The infiltrators were trained and equipped in West Pakistan and all the arms were supplied from there. West Pakistan was, therefore, responsible for the attack launched by the raiders.

It has become clear that there was grave danger and that Government could not delay matters any longer. India's forces had, therefore, no alternative but to move across the border to deal with the situation. We will have to watch for another 24 hours before we can say what the result is. An air battle is going on over Lahore.

In the Chhamb sector, Indian forces have considerably damaged Pakistani tanks. It has just been reported that some of the Pakistani armour was seen returning from that area. The Pakistani wish to capture

Akhnoor and cut off our communications would not be allowed to materialise.

I call upon the State Governments to take all security measures and all necessary defence measures immediately. Action has to be taken in Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat and the other border States like West Bengal, Assam and Tripura without any loss of time. Of course, all the State Governments will have to prepare themselves for the emergency. But the immediate danger is to the Northern States, including Delhi. We may have to introduce civil defence measures at once. For example, there may have to be a complete black-out. In fact, it has been suggested that there should be no lighting even inside the houses in some cities of Punjab. This means that people will have to finish their work before sunset and remain at home. More or less, Delhi may also have to do the same thing. All these steps in regard to civil defence will have to be taken at once.

We will have to be very careful about our consumption, whether it is food or other necessities of life. There should be lesser consumption of everything. I am sure the country will give the necessary response.

The people may have to forego the use of edible oils, tea, jute and similar commodities in order to earn foreign exchange for the country.

The Resolution of the Security Council will be considered tonight and India's reply will be sent either tonight or tomorrow morning.

India has friendly relations with the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom and other countries. I will urge these countries to distinguish who is the aggressor and who has taken the initiative. I am sure they will see the reason of our case. They will realise that India is not in the wrong.

Whatever be the position, we have to stick to our guns and we all have to be prepared to make sacrifices.

7. OFFER TO CEASE FIRE

I THANK YOU for your letter of 12th September, 1965, and appreciate greatly the sincere concern which you have expressed about the likely repercussions of the existing situation on the welfare of the peoples of India and Pakistan. Ever since India attained independence in 1947, we have concentrated attention on the economic development of our country with a view to eradicating poverty and providing a reasonable standard of living to our people. Such resources as we could mobilise have been

devoted to this vital task. All these years, we have actively and purposefully pursued a policy of non-alignment and of peaceful co-existence. We have sought peace and friendship with our neighbours. Our faith in the forces of peace was so genuine and so strong that we did not pay the requisite attention to building up adequately the defence forces of the country. It was only after the Chinese invasion on our northern borders in 1962 that we realised how essential it was for us to be prepared for defending our territorial integrity.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, our effort has always been to promote good neighbourly relations. There has not been even a single occasion during the last 18 years when India has deviated from the path of peace in her relationship with Pakistan, let alone think of any aggressive action. In fact, on more than one occasion, both I and my distinguished predecessor have offered to enter into a no-war pact with Pakistan so that there is no possibility of a clash of arms between the two countries.

The response from Pakistan has been disappointing in the extreme. Our proposal for a no-war pact has been repeatedly turned down. An atmosphere of conflict and tension has been continuously maintained through a variety of ways, including firing across the cease-fire line, repeated border incidents elsewhere and a campaign of hate against India through the controlled press and radio of Pakistan. Important men, occupying responsible positions in that country, have openly and repeatedly declared their intention to use force against India in achieving their objectives. Not content with that, the rulers of Pakistan have launched naked aggression against India three times since 1947, twice in our State of Jammu and Kashmir and once in our State of Gujarat.

Mr. Secretary-General, we fully understand the concern of the Security Council over the present situation and we greatly appreciate its efforts towards the restoration of peace. I cannot, however, help expressing here that if the same concern had been shown immediately when Pakistan launched a massive attack on India on August 5, 1965, by sending thousands of armed infiltrators equipped with Pakistani arms and ammunition and officered by men of the regular forces of Pakistan about which there is irrefutable evidence, for the purpose of capturing vital positions such as airports and police stations, cutting off lines of communication, destroying bridges and other public property and creating disorder with a view to seizing power from the lawfully established Government in accordance with a pre-determined plan of invasion, the situation would not have assumed its present serious proportions. I would not go further into this aspect of the matter, but must add that having been attacked by Pakistan, we had to take action to defend ourselves. I must also stress and I hope it will be appreciated that at every stage whatever action our armed forces took was directed solely by the requirements of self-defence to meet the aggression of Pakistan.

Whatever be the context, Mr. Secretary-General, we greatly welcome your visit and we recognise the importance of your mission from the point of view of peace, not only in the Indian sub-continent, but indeed in the world as a whole. India has always believed in peace and her adherence to peaceful methods stands unshaken. In deference to the wishes of the Security Council and to the appeals which we have received from many friendly countries, we accept your proposal for an immediate cease-fire. We would, therefore, be prepared to order a cease-fire effective from 6.30 a.m. IST on Thursday, 16th September, 1965, provided you confirm to me by 9 a.m. tomorrow that Pakistan is also agreeable to doing so.

In your letter it has been suggested that the Governments of India and Pakistan should give the requisite orders to their field commanders with a view to ensuring an effective cease-fire from the appointed time and date. This will, however, be effective only in respect of the armed forces in uniform engaged in the present combat. The problem of thousands of armed infiltrators who have crossed over into our State of Jammu and Kashmir from the Pakistan side will, I am afraid, continue to remain on our hands. Armed as they are with dangerous weapons of destruction, such as machine-guns and handgrenades, they do even now, as I write this letter, make sudden depredations in an effort to damage vital installations and other property and harass the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. That this invasion by armed infiltrators in civilian disguise was conceived, planned and executed by Pakistan is now well established. Your own report, Mr. Secretary-General, brings this out clearly. And yet, as we understand from you, Pakistan continues to disclaim all responsibility. We are not surprised at this denial, because even on an earlier occasion when Pakistan had committed aggression by adopting similar methods, she had at first denied her complicity although at a later date she had to admit her involvement. We must urge that Pakistan should be asked forthwith to withdraw these armed infiltrators. Until that is done, our security forces will have to deal with these raiders effectively.

Mr. Secretary-General, may I remind you that it was only the other day, in April this year, that Pakistan had launched an armed attack supported by tanks and other armour on our State of Gujarat. Despite grave provocation, we had then acted with great self-restraint and had taken no counter-measures. Eventually a cease-fire agreement was signed in which, among other things, both sides had expressed the solemn hope that the tension between the two countries would get reduced. Subsequent events have shown that Pakistan never meant what she had agreed to expressly and specifically in that cease-fire agreement. It has come to us as a great shock that even from the month of April 1965 plans for invading India in another sector had been prepared and training was being imparted to the armed personnel for war-like operations on our territories. Within less than five weeks of the signing of the Indo-Pakistan Cease-fire

Agreement relating to the West Pakistan-Gujarat Border, Pakistan attacked India once again. In the light of our own experience during the last few months, we will have to insist that there must be no possibility of a recurrence of armed attacks on India, open or disguised. Let me make it perfectly clear, Mr. Secretary-General, that when consequent upon cease-fire becoming effective, further details are considered, we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open for further infiltrations or prevent us from dealing with the infiltrations that have taken place. I would also like to state categorically that no pressures or attacks will deflect us from our firm resolve to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part.

In conclusion, Mr. Secretary-General, I must point out that the menacing forces of aggression are unfortunately at large in Asia, endangering the peace of the world. If the Security Council does not identify the aggressor and equates it with the victims of aggression, the chances of peace will fade out. The situation which the Security Council is being called upon to handle has grave and vital implications in respect of peace and political stability in Asia. What is involved is the welfare of millions of human beings who have suffered for long and who are now entitled to relief and to a better standard of living. If the forces of aggression are not checked effectively, the world may find itself embroiled in a conflict which may well annihilate mankind. We sincerely hope that the forces of peace will win and that humanity will go forward towards ever-increasing progress and prosperity. It is in this spirit that we are agreeing to your proposal for a cease-fire.

8. THE U THANT MISSION

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL of the United Nations, U Thant, arrived in New Delhi on September 12, 1965 and, after staying here for three days, left yesterday for New York. We welcomed him amongst us not only as a high dignitary, but also as a representative of the world organisation on which lies the heavy responsibility of preserving international peace. The Secretary-General and I had free and frank discussions. He met the Foreign Minister and also the Defence Minister.

During the discussions, the Secretary-General drew attention to the grave implications of the present conflict, specially in relation to the welfare of the 600 million people belonging to India and Pakistan. He referred to the Security Council resolutions of September 4 and 6 and

appealed that a cease-fire should be ordered immediately by both countries.

I gave a factual narration of the events as they had taken place and pointed out that the present conflict was not of our seeking. It was started by Pakistan when thousands of armed infiltrators invaded our State of Jammu and Kashmir commencing on August 5, 1965, with the object of destroying or capturing vital positions such as airports, police stations and bridges, and ultimately of seizing power forcibly from the State Government at Srinagar. Finding that its initial invasion had largely failed, Pakistan launched on September 1, 1965, a massive armed attack not only across the cease-fire line but across the international frontier as well. Pakistan had thus not only started the conflict but had further escalated it in such a manner as to leave India with no choice except to take counter-measures in self-defence.

I explained all this to the Secretary-General and told him that the present conflict had been forced upon us by Pakistan's aggression. We were determined, however, to preserve fully and completely the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir forms an integral part; nor could we accept a situation which would enable Pakistan to launch its armed aggression on India time and again.

The Secretary-General was particularly anxious that, as a first step, we should agree to the cease-fire and to the cessation of hostilities. I told him that a cease-fire in regard to the fighting between the troops was understandable but the question of raiders would still remain on our hands. I pointed out that we would have to continue to deal effectively with these raiders many of whom were still at large in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, unless of course Pakistan undertook to withdraw them from our territory.

We went into the pros and cons of the cease-fire in some detail. Subsequently, I received a letter from the Secretary-General in which his appeal for a cease-fire was reiterated. After full consideration of all aspects we sent a reply. As the Hon'ble Members would see from a perusal of this letter*, we raised no objection to the Secretary-General's proposal for a cease-fire. However, in regard to certain matters of vital importance to India, we made our stand perfectly clear. For instance, as already stated, we would have to deal with the raiders who were still sporadically attacking public property or harassing the people in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Also we could not possibly revert to a situation in which we may find ourselves once again unable to prevent infiltration or to deal effectively with those who had already come in. In regard to the political aspect of the question, we made it clear that we were fully determined to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part. From this resolve we

*Please see the letter to the Secretary-General, p. 324.

could never be deflected, no matter what the pressure or the threat. These were not conditions attached to our acceptance of the cease-fire but were meant to be a clear and unequivocal reiteration of our stand in regard to these vital matters.

Late in the evening on September 14, I received a further letter from the Secretary-General saying that he could not give any undertaking. To this I sent a reply yesterday morning pointing out that, as a matter of fact, we had not asked him to give any undertaking to us. Our acceptance of the cease-fire proposal thus complied fully with the appeal of the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General told me, prior to his departure from New Delhi, that if by the evening of September 15, 1965, Pakistan did not give a reply agreeing to a cease-fire, we should take it that an agreement on this question had not been possible. Since no such acceptance was received by the stipulated time, an announcement was made that our defence forces would have to continue the operations with unabated vigour.

Although the Secretary-General's present effort to bring about a stoppage of hostilities in order to pave the way for peace has not been fruitful, through no lack of cooperation from us, he intends, as he has announced publicly, to pursue his efforts further and, just before leaving Delhi, he sent me a further letter.

As the Hon'ble Members would see, we have made every effort to extend all cooperation to the United Nations in its efforts to restore peace and we accepted the Secretary-General's proposal for an immediate cease-fire. Pakistan, on the other hand, has given no such acceptance. In fact the indications are that she is intent upon continuing the fight, unless her own plan involving withdrawal of the armed forces of India and Pakistan from the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, the induction of the United Nations Force and a plebiscite within three months thereafter is agreed to. Let me state on the floor of this House that not one of these conditions is acceptable to India. It is obvious now that Pakistan launched an aggression on India on August 5, 1965, with a view to attempting to revive the settled issue of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. She wants to force a decision by naked aggression. This we cannot possibly allow. We have no alternative, therefore, but to carry on our struggle. We fully realise that the present armed conflict between India and Pakistan will cause untold hardships and misery to people in both the countries. However, I am confident that our countrymen would cheerfully undergo those hardships, and that they would not allow an aggressor to endanger our freedom or to annex our territories.

I have seen some press reports of President Ayub Khan's press conference of yesterday. Among other things, he is reported to have observed that good sense required that India and Pakistan live together in peace. If this is a new and sincere thought, I would greatly welcome it, however

belated it might be. But if past experience is any guide, these remarks would appear to be part of a propaganda to beguile the world. Previously also, President Ayub had talked of the virtues of peace and had followed it up by unprovoked aggression against India in Kutch and, subsequently, in Kashmir. President Ayub has, I trust, by now seen the result of Pakistan's policy of hate and hostility against India.

As the circumstances exist today, the nation has to be continuously alert and be ready for any sacrifice to preserve our freedom and integrity. I am greatly beholden to Parliament, to all the political parties and indeed to the entire nation for their united stand against the aggressor. I want also to express once again the gratitude of the nation to the valiant armed forces who have already demonstrated that they are capable not only of defending our frontiers but also of delivering crushing blows to the invader. Their deeds of heroism will make a glorious chapter in the annals of India. The Parliament and the whole country is proud of them. I am confident that we will continue to meet this challenge with the same determination and courage.

CHAPTER III

CEASE-FIRE AND AFTER

1. INDIA ORDERS CEASE-FIRE

I PLACE ON the Table of the House a copy of the Security Council resolution dated the 20th September, 1965, relating to the current conflict between India and Pakistan—a conflict which commenced on the 5th August, 1965, when Pakistan launched a massive attack on India by sending thousands of armed infiltrators across the cease-fire line in our State of Jammu and Kashmir.

As the Hon'ble Members would see, the Security Council had demanded that both Governments should order a cease-fire effective from 12.30 p.m. Indian Standard Time today, the 22nd September, 1965. On the question of cease-fire the views of the Government of India were stated in detail and without any ambiguity in my letters of September 14 and 15, 1965, addressed to the Secretary-General. As stated in these letters, the Government of India had clearly accepted that they would order a cease-fire without any pre-conditions on being informed that Pakistan had agreed to do the same. On receiving the Security Council resolution, therefore, we sent a communication to the Secretary-General in accordance with our earlier stand, informing him that we would be prepared to issue orders for a simple cease-fire effective from the appointed time and date, provided Pakistan agreed to do likewise. A copy of this communication is also placed on the Table of the House.

Throughout yesterday, there was no further message from the Secretary-General but in the early hours of this morning we received a message from him advising us to order a unilateral cease-fire in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Security Council resolution, with

the proviso that our troops could fire back if they were attacked. This, of course, was entirely impossible. In a battle which is continuing, it is just not possible for one side to ask its soldiers to stop firing, leaving the others side free to continue its operations. Our representative at the United Nations was, therefore, instructed to inform the Secretary-General accordingly.

A further report was received a short while ago that at the request of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, an emergency meeting of the Security Council was convened at which an announcement was made on behalf of Pakistan that they also had agreed to issue orders for a cease-fire and cessation of hostilities. From our side, the requisite orders are now being issued to our field commanders to effect a complete cease-fire by 3.30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

The Security Council resolution refers to other matters which will require consideration subsequently. However, the policy of the Government of India in regard to matters which are of vital importance to us and which relate to the present conflict, has been stated by me on more than one occasion on the floor of this House and also in my recent communications to the Secretary-General.

I do not propose to go into any further details at the present stage. Detailed discussions will have to take place and there would have to be a fuller study of the problems to which I have just referred. For this purpose, our representative at the United Nations will keep himself available to the Secretary-General.

There will now be cessation of hostilities. Peace is good. However, there is still a threat from the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, which he held out today while speaking in the Security Council. We have, therefore, to be very watchful and vigilant.

The nation has recently been going through its greatest trial. The times have been difficult but they have served a great purpose. The whole world knows now that the people of India—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and others—constitute a united nation with a determined common will and purpose. On the battle front, the supreme sacrifice has been made by the members of all communities who have shown that they are Indians first and Indians last.

To our armed forces, I would like to pay on behalf of this Parliament and the entire country our warmest tributes. By their valour and heroism, they have given a new confidence to the people of India. Those who have lost their beloved on the battle front have made a contribution to the preservation of our independence which will never be forgotten by a grateful nation. Their sorrow and their pride are shared by the whole country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would now seek your permission to express to all the Members of this august House, to all the political parties in the

country, to the leaders of public opinion, of labour organisations, of business and industry, and of many other voluntary associations, my feelings of the deepest gratitude. In the hour of trial each of the 470 million people of this country stood up shoulder to shoulder to meet the challenge to our freedom.

I should like to inform the House that on 18th September, 1965, I received a message from Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, offering his good offices for bringing about improved relations between India and Pakistan. Mr. Kosygin is impelled by noble intentions. No one can even contest the view that ultimately India and Pakistan will have to live together as peaceful neighbours. We cannot, therefore, say no to any efforts which may help to bring about such a situation, made by those who are sincere and genuine in their feelings of goodwill and friendship. I have, therefore, informed Mr. Kosygin today that we would welcome his efforts and good offices.

I would also like to give the House some further details about the tragic accident in which the other day we suffered a grievous loss. Investigations conducted on the spot show that the aircraft in which Shri Balvantray Mehta was travelling was shot down by a Pakistani plane. The marks on the fuselage establish that gun fire had been used. Preliminary investigations by the Air Force authorities who also have visited the scene confirm that the aircraft was shot down at a low height. The ammunition recovered at the site of the crash also proves that the attacking aircraft was a Pakistani plane. That a non-combatant civilian aircraft should have been shot down in this manner is one of the most inhuman acts which we must all deplore and condemn. Shri Balvantrayji, his wife and the others who were travelling with him have laid down their lives at the altar of the freedom of the country. Their names will remain enshrined in our memory.

We are, Sir, still faced with the Chinese ultimatum. The House is aware that almost at the same time when the Chinese Government announced the extension of the time-limit of the ultimatum to India by 72 hours on September 19, their troops started provocative activities at several points on the border. On the Sikkim border, about which the Chinese have been making baseless and threatening allegations, the Chinese troops crossed the well-known and delimited boundary at Dongchui La and Nathu La on September 20 and 21 respectively. They fired at our observation posts. They have tried also to intrude into our other territories. Our armed forces have clear instructions to repel the aggressor.

Yesterday we sent a reply to the Chinese note of September 20 in which India was alleged to have intruded into Dum Chale and committed armed provocation. The Chinese charge was rejected as a fabrication, a cover-up for the intrusion and firing at Tsaskur to which I have referred a little while ago.

The House is aware that on September 19, the Chinese Government sent us a note couched in unbecoming language, extending the period of the ultimatum, making demands for destruction of military structures, etc. A copy of our reply has been placed on the Table of the House together with copies of two other notes we sent yesterday. Regarding the so-called military structures we have already told the Chinese Government that if after joint inspection any structures are found on the Tibetan side of the border there can be no objection on their being demolished. I have been told that China has announced that some of these so-called structures have been destroyed by our troops while withdrawing. All this is a product of their imagination.

I must tell the House that we view with grave concern the Chinese activities on the border and the armed intrusions into our territory. We have urged the Chinese Government in our note of September 21 replying to the Chinese note of September 19 to foresake the path of belligerence and intimidation and to return to the path of peace and reason in its relations with India. I hope that even at this late hour China will respond to this call and prevent a major crisis.

We do not, however, know what the Chinese will do next. We have to remain vigilant all along the frontier. These are times of the greatest trial for the nation, but the people all over the country are now in that mood which alone ensures the preservation of the country's freedom. We may have to face many ups and downs, but I know the people have steeled themselves into a resolve to meet even this bigger challenge. On our armed forces, there may be a heavier responsibility. I have no doubt that they are in good spirits. We have no intention of under-estimating the gravity of the situation. But we have resolved firmly to meet this challenge to our freedom.

2. UNSHAKEN FAITH IN PEACE

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN : At 3.30 this morning, hostilities between India and Pakistan which began on August 5 with an invasion by infiltrators came to an end. The blackout has been lifted. But let us not mistake it for the dawn of peace. Let us analyse the situation in which we are and consider what lies ahead.

The cease-fire, as you know, was put off by 15 hours because Pakistan's agreement to it was delayed. Although Pakistan's reply was a belated one, we are nevertheless glad that it did come after all. They wanted the cease-fire no doubt, indeed they needed it, but, as is their practice, they

wanted to put up a show of resistance till the very last moment. Even after having informed the Security Council of their acceptance of the cease-fire, and on the eve of its implementation, Pakistan has behaved in a most unworthy and atrocious manner. The bombing of the civilian population in Amritsar in broad daylight must be most strongly condemned. They did it deliberately and caused much loss to life and property. There is the threat from no less a person than the President of Pakistan and also from his Foreign Minister. Both of them have talked of a wider conflagration in the future. All this shows that Pakistan is still in a belligerent mood. While we would like to see peace between India and Pakistan—indeed we are anxious to see this achieved—we cannot shut our eyes to the realities. I must state clearly that if Pakistan launches an attack again on the State of Jammu and Kashmir which is an integral part of India, or on any other part of our territory, we shall meet the challenge with full determination and full force. Let there be no miscalculation again. This is our firm policy in regard to the defence of the country and it would be implemented with determination.

While the conflict between the armed forces of the two countries has come to an end, the more important thing for the United Nations and all those who stand for peace is to bring to an end the deeper conflict between a theocratic State and a secular State, between a free democracy and a guided democracy. How can this be brought about? In our view, the only answer lies in peaceful co-existence. India has stood for the principle of co-existence and championed it all over the world. Peaceful co-existence is possible among nations no matter how deep the differences between them, how far apart they are in their political and economic systems, no matter how intense the issues that divide them.

Time and again we have declared that we have no quarrel with the people of Pakistan and we wish them well. Even in the fighting that has just ended, all our attacks were directed at the Pakistani war machine. We have not bombed civilians, we have not shelled Lahore, we did not retaliate against air raids from East Pakistan, we have not attacked Karachi, even though most of the aircraft which used to attack our territory had their base there. In contrast, the Pakistanis have chased and shot down an unarmed civilian plane carrying the Chief Minister of Gujarat and his wife. They have dropped bombs on the civilian population in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Punjab.

After having unleashed a pre-planned, massive attack on India, compelling us to take counter-measures, Pakistan has been carrying on deliberately false propaganda that India is out to destroy Pakistan. Nothing can be farther removed from the truth. India has no intention whatsoever of destroying Pakistan. It is in fact Pakistan that has acted against India continuously. It is Pakistan that has invaded India three times in 17 years. It is Pakistan that wants to destroy our secularism which

is the very basis of our State. It is Pakistan that tries to raise the communal bogey in an attempt to divide our people. It has to be remembered that there are 50 million Muslims in India and they are equal and proud partners in building up a new order in this country. They have fought, arm-in-arm with their comrades in the battles against Pakistan and have won the highest military honours. Pakistan will never be permitted to succeed in its evil designs against India.

The armed forces of the country have risen gloriously to the occasion. They have displayed remarkable gallantry and military skill. The brave men of our Army and Air Force have operated as a well-coordinated team, and the officers have actually led the forces in battle on the ground and in the skies. They played with their lives cheerfully. Many deeds of heroism have been reported from the battle-front. The whole nation is full of warm appreciation and gratitude for our troops. Theirs, however, is a continuous task and I know that they are fully alive to their responsibilities.

I would also like to refer to the men of the armed police force who had had to meet the challenge of Pakistani infiltrators and paratroopers. At many places they had to stand shoulder to shoulder with our armed forces to fight the invaders. In this task, many of them laid down their lives. But they have succeeded in adding a glorious chapter to the history of the Indian Police.

What has been the greatest source of strength to the Government during this period of trial is the united will of the people who stood up together to do their duty by the country. India is a vast country with a very large population. Among our people we have many communities. We use different languages in different areas. Each one of us professes the faith of his choice. But all of us constitute a well-knit nation. Of this there has been the clearest possible demonstration during these critical days. Punjab has been in the forefront. The citizens of Punjab have shown a remarkable courage, sense of discipline and organisation. Their morale has always been very high. The people of the other border areas, particularly those of Rajasthan and Gujarat, have shown great courage and fortitude. I know that among the civilian population, the casualties have been substantial. The sacrifices of our people in these areas will not go in vain. They have stood up for the whole country and all the people feel beholden to them. To the kith and kin of those who fell martyrs for freedom I send our respectful sympathies and condolences. As a Government we will do everything possible to lighten the sorrow of those whom these brave soldiers of freedom have left behind.

The Chinese threat is still with us. They alone know what they intend to do in the future. We have, however, to be prepared to meet the challenge from whic' ever quarter it comes.

We will have to take a long-term view of measures for Civil Defence.

Improvisations at short notice are not good enough and considerable thought will be given to this matter, specially in respect of the border areas. The people can play an important role by volunteering themselves for services in this connection. Their response has been commendable. We have been receiving a large number of voluntary contributions every day to the Defence Fund. These are most welcome and we greatly appreciate the gesture of the donors.

In the coming days and weeks, we must make a realistic reappraisal of our plans and policies. If the experience of the recent past holds any lesson for us all, it is this we must endeavour to be as self-reliant as possible. In the ultimate analysis, it is the strength of the nation itself which matters most and which is our best safeguard. The responsibility for this endeavour lies not on the shoulders of a few, but on each one of you, my brothers and sisters. A democratic society such as ours depends for its strength on the voluntary and disciplined efforts of all its citizens. It is a compulsion from within and not from without. So far as I am concerned, I am full of confidence about the capacity of our people to meet effectively the challenge of peace as we have met the challenge of aggression.

To the many friendly countries who have shown understanding and sympathy, I must express the gratitude of the people of India. It is specially gratifying that almost all the countries of the world, except those who are clear partisans, have recognised that India had to act in the recent hostilities purely in self-defence to meet a wanton and naked aggression upon her territories. India's faith in peace is unshaken. With us it is a matter of principle and not of expediency. But adherence to peace does not and cannot mean that we should not take up arms to defend ourselves when attacked.

When Pakistan launched an attack on August 5, 1965, she had done so on the basis of certain assumptions. The first apparently was that there would be some sort of an uprising or revolt in Kashmir. The second seems to have been the hope that there might be communal disturbances in India. The biggest blow to Pakistani ambitions was dealt by the brave people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. They bore the brunt of the first wave of aggression with remarkable unity and fortitude. They gave full cooperation to the State Government so ably led by Sadiq Saheb, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, and to the security forces of the country. The second expectation of Pakistan proved to be even more illusory. The Pakistani aggression brought to the surface the latent strong internal unity of our country. Our people came forward, all of them, as Indian patriots to fight a foreign challenger. We have to keep up this spirit. Let us not slacken our efforts and activities. We must remain alert and vigilant. All the people of India should be ready and determined to defend their Motherland in any emergency, with all their heart and all their might.

3. UNITED WE STAND

I MUST EXPRESS my gratitude to all the Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate today. There have been several speakers, and they have expressed themselves in words of their choice. But I have heard from every side of the House only one voice—the voice of patriotism, of the national will to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India, no matter who the invader may be. This is the voice of the people of India expressed in unmistakable terms through their chosen representatives in Parliament; this is the voice of the sovereign will of the people. Hon'ble Members would permit me to recall that, while speaking in this House in April last, I had appealed for the unity of heart amongst our people. That unity has been achieved in the fullest measure and has been demonstrated effectively in these critical days. In fact, it is this unity which has been the biggest source of strength to all of us in these testing times.

The cease-fire has already come about in spite of Pakistan's intransigence. It is likely that when we consider the subsequent steps, further difficulties and complications might arise. It is by no means going to be an easy task, specially in view of the threats given even after the acceptance of the cease-fire by President Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister. I have made India's position absolutely clear in my letter of September 14, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Our understanding of the three resolutions of the Security Council is that they are applicable to both regular forces and the infiltrators from Pakistan. Pakistan must own and discharge the responsibilities of withdrawing the infiltrators from our State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, they are continuing to disclaim all responsibility for the infiltration despite the report of the Secretary-General himself. If Pakistan persists in this attitude, India alone must deal with the infiltrators effectively and force them out. Moreover, we shall never allow any arrangement for the future in which there may be possibilities of further infiltrations.

About our State of Jammu and Kashmir, the House knows our stand which is firm and clear. This State is an integral part of India, a constituent unit of the federal Union of India. There is hardly any case for the exercise of self-determination again. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have already exercised the right of self-determination through three General Elections held on the basis of universal adult franchise.

I feel grateful for and heartened by the unanimity of support for the policy which the Government has followed in meeting the challenge of the recent aggression. However, I would like to say that dangers still lie ahead even after a cease-fire has become effective. These dangers are

very real indeed. We should surely be prepared to meet them and our preparations will not be relaxed.

Shri Peter Alvares had expressed the opinion that the Soviet Union had apparently agreed to "de-freezing" the Kashmir question. It would not be correct to say so. The Soviet Union is today an ardent champion of peace. They have known the horrors of war and they do want, in a friendly spirit, to endeavour to bring about an improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan. Their intentions are pure and we have therefore welcomed their initiative.

Some Hon'ble Members have referred to the work of our diplomatic missions abroad. I can tell the House with complete sincerity that on the present occasion each one of our missions has been alert and vigilant. They have done a good job in keeping the government to which they are accredited fully informed of the developments and of the justice of our cause. The attitude which some governments take is not, in my view, dependent upon or even affected by what our ambassadors have to say. There are pre-conceived notions and prejudices which one has to contend with. It must, nevertheless, be our persistent effort to project our case in the best possible manner and to win friends for India in all parts of the world.

A few words are necessary, Mr. Speaker, about the home front. The momentum which the nation has gained will have to be kept up. Our defence preparedness will have to be improved continuously and we will have to remain vigilant all along our frontiers. For strengthening our defences, a good deal of sacrifice will be needed on the part of the country as a whole. We may all have to accept privation and even our economic development may have to be slowed down somewhat in order that our defences are not weakened.

To the tasks that lie ahead, we shall address ourselves in a realistic manner and in full awareness of the fact that self-reliance must be our watchword. I am grateful to this august House for the magnificent support which it has given in these historic times. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would appeal to the House to authorise you to convey, through our Defence Minister, the admiration and gratitude of this House to our armed forces for the splendid job they have done. I would also, with your permission, like to suggest that the House should rise and observe a minute's silence to honour the memory of those soldiers, airmen, policemen and civilians who have become martyrs in the defence of their Motherland.

4. A DATE OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE

AUGUST 5 is a date which has acquired a special significance in our history. It will be difficult for us to forget this date, at least for some time. The chain of events that started on August 5 is continuing even now. On that date, thousands of armed men from Pakistan entered Kashmir. They moved swiftly and created a dangerous situation, a situation which was dangerous not only for Kashmir but for all of us. You can imagine how serious a situation can become when five to seven thousand armed men invade a country. A few months ago, Mr. Bhutto said that Pakistan had a "master plan" for Kashmir and that they proposed to follow this plan step by step. We were aware of what Mr. Bhutto had said and, therefore, had some inkling of what was in store. But we could never have imagined that Pakistan would try to put her "master plan" into action so soon after the Kutch agreement. You all know how particular we were that the Kutch problem should be solved through peaceful negotiations. We also signed an agreement to this effect. It is most unfortunate—and it has been a great shock to me personally—that even while we were in the process of signing the Kutch Agreement, full-fledged preparations for an attack on Kashmir were going on in Pakistan. What could be more improper and perfidious than this? While we on our part were trying our best to solve all our boundary problems peacefully, Pakistan was preparing to attack our country on a much larger scale than the attack in Kutch. Obviously, Pakistan was only making a show of willingness to solve the Kutch dispute peacefully.

This was the background of the attack on Kashmir. It was natural for us to fight back with all our power and all our resources in an effort to repulse this attack. The task of our security forces was no easy one, for these infiltrators came furtively in twos and threes taking cover in ravines and desolate mountainous tracks. Pakistan believed that the people of Kashmir would revolt against their Government. The armed infiltrators were convinced that as soon as they entered Kashmir the Kashmiri people would throw in their lot with them and help them in overthrowing the Government so that their land could become part of Pakistan. The armed infiltrators attacked police posts, tried to reach the airport, and made many attempts to set fire to villages and towns. While they were indulging in such activities, the people of Kashmir did not give them food or shelter and did not cooperate with them in any way whatsoever. This demonstrated more clearly than any argument could have done that Kashmir was an integral part of India and that it had nothing to do with Pakistan.

In my judgment, it was a great blow to Pakistan that a territory

which they had imagined would join Pakistan within two or three days did not do anything of the kind. It soon became clear to Pakistan that the people of Kashmir, far from helping the intruders, would withstand their attack and stoutly resist them to the last. When this scheme of sending infiltrators into Kashmir to create a "revolution" did not succeed, Pakistan resorted to the method of attacking with regular armed forces. As you all know, India did not indulge in any aggressive activity, did not attack an inch of Pakistan's territory in the beginning. Even when they were sending armed men into Kashmir, we only took measures to prevent them from coming into our territory.

At first Pakistan's attack was a disguised one and they persisted in saying that the trouble in Kashmir had been created by the people themselves. But in such matters truth cannot be concealed indefinitely, and Pakistan's intention became more than clear when they launched their full-scale attack in Chhamb with infantry divisions and a hundred tanks.

This was no border incident, and they crossed not only the cease-fire line but also the international border and entered the Chhamb territory of Jammu. Time was of essence and we had to act quickly. Although Pakistan's attack on India was first launched in Chhamb, they had an eye on our territory of Punjab also. As you know, they made a rocket attack on Amritsar and tried to destroy the airport near Wagah. President Ayub had been talking a great deal about the tanks and other military equipment Pakistan had acquired and had on many occasions boasted that if they decided to march to Delhi, it would be a walkover. The military situation created by Pakistan was such that our forces had no choice but to advance in the Lahore sector.

The British Government criticised India bitterly for her action and accused her of attacking Pakistan but did not say that India had been attacked by Pakistan when thousands of armed infiltrators from Pakistan entered Kashmir. Nor did they say a word when Pakistan crossed the international border, or even when Pakistan launched her massive attack on Chhamb with heavy armour.

Pakistan's attack was so formidable and so swift that we could not afford merely to talk of defending ourselves. We had to take decisive, effective action without losing time. The needs of the situation could no longer be answered by local action. We could not afford to endanger the freedom of our country. No country in the world would have allowed its freedom to be threatened as ours was. We have always held fast to the principle of peace, but in the situation that was created, not to act would have been cowardice and sloth. The display of armed might we saw within our territory could be resisted only with arms. It is not customary to let out State secrets, but I can tell you that when our Generals consulted the Government about the situation, I told them firmly that

there was no room for indecision; that they must go ahead and not flinch.

And the Indian Army did not flinch. They advanced in Sialkot, Kasur, Lahore and across the Rajasthan border. They took the town of Gadra and captured many posts and dug into their positions. The Security Council, and indeed the whole world, started to talk of peace. We have no objection to peace and do not want the conflict between Pakistan and India to become a conflagration where all the countries of the world have to come in. The world knows that we have time and again offered our services for peace-keeping operations. Our great leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, worked for peace all his life and on many occasions succeeded miraculously in averting war. We cannot suddenly forget these principles. We hold steadfastly to the ideals of peace in the world. We want to live in our country in peace so that we can work for progress, so that we can fight the poverty of our people and build up a new society for them. We are content in our own country and do not want to grab anybody else's territory. Nothing could be farther from our minds than to become the cause of armed conflicts in the world. That is why we agreed at once when the question of peace and a cease-fire was brought up. We had talks with the Secretary-General of the United Nations when he came here and told him that we would agree to a cease-fire. Even after Pakistan accepted the cease-fire, she continued air attacks and shelling on Indian positions and did not desist from trying to inch her way forward all along the border. It is for the United Nations or the Security Council to judge the appropriateness or otherwise of Pakistan's actions after the announcement of the cease-fire.

It has been said that it is we who have attacked Pakistan after the cease-fire. I want to say categorically that our armies have not attacked any part of Pakistan's territory anywhere after the cease-fire. Of course, if they attack us we have to resist them and repulse their attacks. But we on our part sincerely wish to maintain the cease-fire. Even after the cease-fire, Pakistan has been making free use of the language of threats. Every day Mr. Bhutto makes menacing speeches. If the Security Council and the other big powers allow themselves to be pressurised by his speeches, it will create a very difficult situation for us. If Mr. Bhutto maintains that Pakistani forces will withdraw when the Kashmir issue is solved, I would like to submit to him that the Kashmir issue cannot be solved in this way. If Pakistan is not willing to withdraw her forces, our Jawans will also stay where they are.

The issues in the Kashmir dispute are too well known to need repetition. Pakistan demands that we should withdraw from Haji Pir, Tithwal and from Kargil. But are they not in unlawful occupation of the whole of what they call "Azad Kashmir"? Is that a part of Pakistan? If you look at the old proposals and resolutions of the Security Council, you will see that the administration of the so-called "Azad Kashmir"

is the responsibility of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan should first withdraw from the so-called "Azad Kashmir" and then talk to us of Tithwal and Kargil. Our stand on Kashmir is quite clear and Pakistan's language of threats will not do much good. Kashmir is a part of India and no part of India can be severed from her. It is as simple as that. It is unfortunate that Pakistan should have attacked India in order to grab Kashmir. There is no international law or practice whereby one country can attack another with all her armed might in order to force the solution of an issue which had already been brought before the Security Council. The Security Council and all the countries of the world must take cognizance of India's legal position and of our lawful rights while approaching the Kashmir issue. It is true that relations between India and Pakistan should be cordial and we have no objection to any country or power trying to bring the two countries closer together. After all Pakistan and India are neighbours and it is equally difficult for both of them to progress if they live in tension and with feelings of hostility towards each other. Good-neighbourliness is a proposition we endorse wholeheartedly. But it is very difficult for us to accept a situation wherein Kashmir is used as a basis for resolving the problems and tensions between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan wants the Security Council to meet again within a week. What would be the purpose of this meeting? Pakistan has yet not given effect even to the first part of the Security Council's resolution. What then is the point of going on with other things? Other problems can be taken up after the first part of the resolution is fulfilled. Mr. Bhutto seems very keen on hearing his own voice in the Security Council. Perhaps that is why he wants another Security Council meeting: What is the point of our attending another meeting of the Security Council when Pakistan is being allowed to disregard the first part of the resolution? We may have to consider whether we should attend such a meeting at all. We hope that the Security Council will deliberate carefully before it calls an emergency meeting. The Security Council's proposals should first be carried out faithfully and only then should another meeting be called if it is considered necessary. In that case we shall certainly attend the meeting, take part in the debate and put forth our point of view.

I want to appeal to you not to let the cease-fire make you complacent and slack. It would be a great mistake for us to feel that the conflict with Pakistan has been resolved. We must be prepared for everything. We do not know what form this conflict may take; and we must always remember China's threat. We are facing a grave situation. Although there is no cause for panic, I am sure all of you can well imagine how much discipline such a situation calls for. We must be prepared to face difficulties, willing to do without things, willing to sacrifice. We

must become deeply aware of the threat that hangs over us and fashion our daily lives accordingly. It is possible that we may have to delay some of our plans and schemes for progress in order to concentrate on defence preparations. We have to strengthen our defences and maintain our equipment in good order even if we have to do without food. I do not say that we will be in such a situation but a situation may arise when we would have to eat much less than we do now. Defence will have to be our first priority for some time to come. There are some friendly countries who want to help us and we welcome their support. But even if they do not help us, we have to be prepared to subsist on the barest minimum and meet our defence needs somehow or the other.

I want every village in this country to be aware of the situation, to be alive to the need for producing more foodgrains in the country. We shall have to cut down the cash crops and concentrate on wheat, paddy, jowar, bajra and such crops as much as possible. The whole country must be united in the resolve to produce more and to improve agriculture on the one hand and, on the other, to consume as little as possible. I would advise those who are not vegetarians to consume less rice and wheat. The lavishness in hotels and restaurants, where one course is followed by another, must come to a stop. We must eat only as much as is absolutely necessary. I am telling you this with the greatest seriousness because the need to save food has become crucial to our very existence in the situation today. Even the feasts that are customary in marriages and festivals must be restrained and held on a small scale, if they must be held. We must make an earnest effort to save in whatever way we can.

Another thing I would like to stress is that the psychology of hoarding must be nipped in the bud. Many people think they are doing nothing wrong if they keep enough grain for a month or two in their homes in these uncertain times, but this is not so. It would be grossly unfair to the country if we kept even one more grain of wheat or rice than we normally needed. What are we afraid of? What is achieved if a handful of people manage to protect themselves against shortages? What is the point of saving our lives at the expense of thousands of our countrymen? It is much better to die. If we understand all this, we shall certainly be able to defend ourselves. When I returned from Russia, I told you about the city of Leningrad where 500,000 people died in the defence of their city. Many of them died of starvation. I do not say that this grim picture is about to become a reality in our country, but at the same time we must try to produce enough for our needs within the country. Each man should willingly share with his brother, with his neighbour, whatever he has so that nobody need starve. This is what we must resolve today.

It is true that the Government must face its own responsibilities and fulfil the needs of the country. But I would like to appeal to all traders

that in the matter of prices and the price-line, it does not behove us today to talk of legal restrictions and disciplinary action. The situation demands that the traders must hold the price-line. The traders and dealers can be of great help and service in this hour. If they guarantee price stability, the other tasks that are before us today can be carried out without unnecessary complications.

I know that we are capable of combining our efforts for Civil Defence in a most effective manner. I would like to congratulate those who made such successful Civil Defence arrangements in the city of Delhi, all within two or three days. The whole city was plunged in darkness but not a single untoward incident was reported. The civilian population, including children, were intent on making the black-out a success. This is a time when we must not depend on officers and official organisers. Each one of us must feel responsible for our own Civil Defence and prepare ourselves coolly and calmly to face bombing raids or any other kind of attack. In such eventualities, we must not give way to panic and run for our lives but stand firm, ready to be of help. Each city, each town, each village in the country must prepare itself. I am confident that the young people of our country will come forward and contribute their effort in Civil Defence most ungrudgingly.

I want to say one more thing. The B.B.C. has said that since India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is a Hindu, he is ready for war with Pakistan. There is no doubt that I am a Hindu. Mir Mushtaq Sahib who is presiding over this meeting is a Muslim. Mr. Frank Anthony who has also addressed you is a Christian. There are also Sikhs and Parsis here. The unique thing about our country is that we have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and people of all other religions. We have temples and mosques, gurdwaras and churches. But we do not bring all this into politics. We are not working to make India a Hindu State or a Muslim State. This is the difference between India and Pakistan. Whereas Pakistan proclaims herself to be an Islamic State and uses religion as a political factor, we Indians have the freedom to follow whatever religion we may choose, to worship in any way we please. So far as politics is concerned, each one of us is as much an Indian as the other. It is a distortion of facts to accuse India of hostility to Pakistan on account of the narrow point of view of religion. After all, China is not an Islamic State. So far as the territorial integrity of India is concerned, we have taken the same stand with China as we have taken with Pakistan. If China attacks us, we shall resist her and defend ourselves with all the resources at our command, no matter how great her might. The defence of the country has nothing to do with religion; it is a matter of the freedom and sovereignty of the Motherland! Not an inch of our land shall be severed from us. We must have it and be prepared to sacrifice our lives in the effort.

In this crisis there has been a great demonstration of unity and discipline in the country. This has meant a new upsurge of life and I have full faith that the morale of our people will remain as high as it is today. Anyone who undermines this morale in any way will be playing in Pakistan's hands. Whoever brings up internal dissensions, whoever breaks the peace and unity of the country will be considered a traitor. We must guard our unity and cherish it. If we are united and resolved, if we are able to feed ourselves through our own efforts, if we are prepared for sacrifices to strengthen our defences, I have no doubt that our Army will be able to defend our freedom wherever that freedom may be threatened.

Yesterday I visited some of our wounded Jawans and officers in the military hospital. They have been badly hurt but I did not see a single tear or even a sad face. However serious the injury or wound was, each one of them was smiling and cheerful. An officer whose leg had been amputated told me with pride that he had shot down a Pakistani officer after his leg received the injury on the battlefield. I was very much moved to see another officer, Bhupinder Singh, whose whole body was covered with blood. Even now it is difficult to put a piece of cloth anywhere on his body. He was lying in bed with eyes closed. He apologised to me for not being able to stand up to show respect to the Prime Minister who was visiting him. He told me that he destroyed seven enemy tanks and that his unit had knocked out thirty-one. He also said that he was sure he would get well again, but even if he did not it did not matter because the country can now hold its head high. I told him how proud the country was of him, how deeply grateful the people of the country were for the way in which the Indian armed forces had faced the enemy. Every child, every man and woman in this country had the deepest respect for the men of the Indian Army, for the Air Force pilots and other fighters. The whole country is deeply aware of the sacrifices they have made and cherishes them. We shall stand by our armed forces with all our strength and make it possible for them to lead the country from victory to victory. I believe that justice is on our side, that fairness is on our side, that truth is on our side and that the final victory will be ours.

5. DEFENCE PREPAREDNESS

YOU CAN WELL be proud of your glorious achievements. I have come to tell you that the country is even more proud of you. Your heroic exploits are now the talk of every Indian home. A new life is pulsating

Address to Jawans in Sialkot sector on October 15, 1965

everywhere and there is a new sense of responsibility and determination to make the nation strong and self-reliant. Your achievements are indeed great, but they must not induce any feeling of complacency. Pakistan's intentions are not clear yet. There is a continuous violation of the cease-fire line. Pakistan is also making feverish endeavours to secure arms and other supplies from foreign countries. It is reported that China has also offered a substantial loan in foreign exchange to Pakistan to help her ally in her hour of need. Both of them seem to be united in their desire to create difficulties for India whose democratic social order they find embarrassing. This is a big challenge to our freedom. Our armed forces and indeed all the people have a tremendous responsibility.

India believes in peace and wants to have friendly relations with her neighbours, but her policy of peace has been misconstrued as a sign of weakness. On this premise, Pakistan launched attacks on India, first in Kutch and later in Kashmir. The Kutch issue was settled in a peaceful manner, but when the attack on Kashmir came, it was clear to me that Pakistan had decided upon a persistent policy of aggression. This had to be met, and met effectively. The attack in the Chhamb sector compelled India to take appropriate counter-measures and it was in this context that the armed forces of India had marched towards Lahore and Sialkot.

Our armed forces have since occupied a large area of Pakistan territory in the Lahore and Sialkot sectors. In the Lahore sector we are on the eastern bank of Ichhogil Canal. In the Sialkot sector, our forces are at a distance of only three miles from the city. The main tasks set for the armed forces have thus been substantially achieved.

The territory on which we are all sitting is Pakistani territory. The area under your occupation is so large that although I have been travelling for several hours this morning, the entire place has not yet been covered. But even in this hour of your achievement, I want to declare that we have never had any desire to occupy any part of Pakistani territory. If we are here today, it is only to meet and deal with forces of aggression. But we are equally firm that not an inch of our own territory will be allowed to be taken away by Pakistan or any other country. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and will remain so.

We want the world to know that we are not an unreasonable people. We want to carry the world with us and we are always prepared to walk along the path of peace. But peace cannot be purchased by surrendering our freedom.

In the circumstances in which the country finds itself today, defence preparedness is of the highest importance. We are giving a new shape to our development plans to meet these requirements.

The whole nation is deeply conscious of your achievements and is ready to do all it can to supplement your brave efforts. The Government

of India, I wish to assure you, will also do everything possible for the welfare of the men of the armed forces and their families.

6. PAKISTAN'S DISINCLINATION

I HAVE THE honour to acknowledge the receipt of your message of October 14, in which you have expressed your concern that the withdrawals foreseen in the Security Council resolutions have not taken place, and have requested the Government of India to take the necessary steps to bring about the withdrawals called for in the Security Council resolutions. You have also indicated that the cease-fire which was accepted by both sides was becoming increasingly effective, and that, therefore, the subsequent step of withdrawal by both parties should now be undertaken.

To begin with, Pakistan has shown no inclination to observe the cease-fire agreed to under paragraph 1 of the resolution of September 20. In its letter of September 26, 1965, document No. S/6715, the Pakistan Government, through its Permanent Representative, has taken the position that military disengagement should proceed concurrently with an honourable political settlement. He has further stated that without self-executing arrangements and procedures for a settlement "it is hard to envisage an effective programme for the withdrawal of forces." The conditions and reservations made in the Pakistan Government's communication in regard to disengagement and withdrawal of forces are amply reflected in Pakistan's attitude in the field towards the observance of cease-fire. Furthermore, Pakistan has not only shown no intention to undertake responsibility for withdrawal of its armed personnel whom it sent to Kashmir in civilian clothes, it is, as we have informed you, undertaking massive preparations and training of persons in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir for being sent again into Jammu and Kashmir as armed infiltrators. We have brought to your attention numerous violations of cease-fire by Pakistan including the latest serious cease-fire violation involved in an attack by four Pakistani fighter bombers on the Indian village of Bandah, 36 miles within Indian territory in Rajasthan on October 13. So long as Pakistan continues to show scant regard for the cease-fire, it is difficult to see how paragraph 1 of the Security Council resolution can be properly implemented.

According to the resolution of the Security Council of September 20, the question of withdrawals has to be taken up only after the cease-fire has been effectively established. While I commend the efforts



On arrival at Tashkent



The trio Shastri, Lyub and Kosygin

Presenting India's viewpoint at the historic Tashkent conference





Signing the historic Tashkent Declaration



Friends again : Shastri and Ayub

made by yourself and your observers to secure a real and effective cease-fire, I fear we are still far away from the realisation of this objective.

On our part we have accepted the cease-fire without any preconditions or reservations. We are anxious that an effective cease-fire should be established immediately. I understand efforts are being made by the observers to convene a meeting of military commanders with a view to reaching an agreement regarding fixation of the cease-fire positions.

I would invite your attention to my letter of September 28, 1965, in which the position of my Government has been made clear. We feel that since a cease-fire has not yet been effectively established, the stage for a planned schedule of withdrawals over the entire area of conflict has not yet arrived. The local commanders in particular areas should first meet under the auspices of the Observers and enter into discussions with a view to reaching an agreement on the stabilisation of the cease-fire. Thereafter, we are agreeable to appropriate representatives of India and Pakistan meeting in the sub-continent to consider the question of withdrawals, together with the Chief Military Observer of the UNMOGIP whom you have entrusted with overseeing the operations.

7. JAI JAWAN, JAI KISAN

PAKISTAN HAS CONTINUED to commit cease-fire violations with impunity. Simultaneously, Pakistan has carried on a misleading propaganda against India and has even complained to the Security Council.

It was obvious that India could not allow the Pakistani troops to sneak into her territory with a view to improving their positions. India's responsibility was clear. Pakistani troops would have to be thrown back from the areas they occupied after September 23.

What is required at present is the stabilisation of the cease-fire. Other questions could be taken up later. The Security Council should fix responsibility for the aggression; it should not be content with equating the aggressor with the victim of aggression. If the Council ignored its responsibility in the matter, it would only be rewarding aggression and thus encouraging it. It was gross injustice to equate the aggressor with the victim of aggression. So far as India is concerned, we would scrupulously observe the cease-fire. We have no intention of occupying Pakistani territory.

India's patience and her desire for peace had been mistaken as a sign

Speech at the 83rd death anniversary of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in New Delhi on October 24, 1965

of weakness. While it was true that India did not want war, she could not tolerate aggression from any quarter. Pakistan had committed aggression against India thrice. There was no alternative for India except to meet force with force. Pakistan had miscalculated our strength and our will to fight. She had thought that in a war with India, she would have a cake-walk. Pakistan had thought that she would be able to annex Kashmir by military force and then present the world with a *fait accompli*. Indian officers and Jawans and Indian airmen shattered Pakistan's illusions. The deeds of their valour would be written in letters of gold in our history. In a war, there is only one objective and that is to vanquish the foe. The Indian officers and Jawans staked their all to achieve this objective. Their morale was very high and they were prepared for any sacrifice to defend the territorial integrity of the country. Indian army officers led their men in the battlefield and themselves took part in the fighting, thus setting a new example for the Jawans. The officers and Jawans established a new comradeship in the battlefield and succeeded in destroying superior enemy armour and equipment. The story of their valour had generated a new enthusiasm in every nook and corner of the country. The whole nation had stood united to a man to the utter dismay of the enemy. India had proved that she was a strong nation.

The nation cannot afford to relax. It is difficult to say what the future holds for us. Pakistan had not yet given up her policy of aggression. The duty of the nation is, therefore, clear. The country's defences have to be strengthened. The people should spare no efforts to strengthen the defences. Side by side, food production has to be increased. Food self-sufficiency is as important as a strong defence system. It was for this reason that I raised the slogan : "Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan". The Kisan is as much a soldier as the Jawan.

8. PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE

IN THE STATEMENT which I had made in this House on September 24, 1965, I had given an account of the developments culminating in a cease-fire coming into force between India and Pakistan at 3.30 a.m. on the 23rd September, 1965. I do not wish to take up the time of the House by going into details about subsequent happenings which have been fully reported in the press. I would instead try to present the broad picture of the later developments and to share with the House Government's views and thoughts on the various issues that have yet to be resolved.

The cease-fire is still far from being fully effective. The main reason for this is the fact that Pakistani Forces have continuously tried to occupy posts and areas which were not in their hands when the cease-fire came into effect. It is these violations by Pakistan that account for the uneasy conditions that prevail in areas where our troops are facing the Pakistan army. The House will recall that the actual hour of the cease-fire had to be put off by fifteen hours beyond the dead-line set in the Security Council resolution of September 20, 1965, because Pakistan delayed its acceptance of the cease-fire till the last minute. During this period which elapsed between the acceptance of cease-fire by both the countries and its actual coming into force, Pakistani forces were actively engaged in trying to occupy fresh territory wherever possible and particularly in South-West Rajasthan. Even after the cease-fire, Pakistani troops did occupy a few posts and villages in Rajasthan which are separated from each other by long distances and are located in areas where there had been no fighting before.

Apart from Rajasthan, in the Fazilka sector on the 24th and 25th September, in the Tithwal area on the 11th October, Pakistan launched major attacks in total disregard of the cease-fire. In the Chhamb area too, they have repeatedly tried to move forward after the cease-fire.

The Cease-Fire Agreement cannot stand in the way of our troops regaining territory treacherously occupied after the cease-fire came into effect. Wherever such violations have occurred we have obviously no choice left except to deal with the situation and foil the Pakistani designs. Our taking such remedial action cannot be considered a violation of the cease-fire. It is necessary that the Security Council should give serious thought to this aspect of the matter. We have been regularly drawing their attention to the cease-fire violations by Pakistan, the total number of which now adds up to about a thousand. The Security Council must ensure that there are no more violations of the cease-fire and that the places occupied after the cease-fire are vacated forthwith. If real progress is to be made on the road to peace, the cease-fire must be made truly effective. Until the cease-fire becomes effective, it is not possible to proceed to the subsequent step of withdrawal of armed personnel. This was emphasised by me in a letter dated the 18th October, 1965, to the Secretary-General.

Another factor of the greatest importance in any discussion on withdrawals is the manner in which we can be assured that the infiltration technique which Pakistan initiated on the 5th August, 1965, will not be repeated again. I had emphasised this point in my discussions and correspondence with the Secretary-General even before the cease-fire came into being. As far as I am aware no statement has been made by any Indian delegate to the UN or to the UN Security Council which has been inconsistent with whatever I have said in this House. I find it necessary

to revert to this point with even greater emphasis, because we have reports of a fresh build-up of infiltrators in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and in tribal areas. The tragic events of the last few months should make the UN and the Security Council realise that prevention is not only better but easier than cure. If firm action had been taken when infiltration began and General Nimmo had reported on it, perhaps much of the tragic loss of life and property which followed could have been avoided." At that time, despite all our efforts, strong and prompt action was not taken. I do hope that the Secretary-General will start immediate investigations into what is going on in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir in preparation for unleashing a fresh wave of infiltrators.

I cannot help expressing the feeling that the world would be saved much trouble and misery if aggression is not countenanced anywhere and objective efforts are made to identify the aggressor. In the recent conflict, the fact of Pakistani aggression could be seen by anyone who wanted to see. The Chief UN Observer gave a clear and objective verdict. The Security Council itself referred to August 5 as the crucial date. On this date India had taken no action. It was Pakistan that had started sending massive waves of infiltrators and clearly she was the aggressor. Impliedly, Pakistan's aggression was noted but this certainly was not enough. A clear verdict was necessary and a body which is charged with the important responsibility of preserving world peace must necessarily be prepared to give a clear verdict. This is all the more necessary because a new technique is being adopted under which invasions are launched in disguise and forces of destruction are unleashed without the usual declaration of war. It is for this reason that India had been urging from the beginning that Pakistan should be identified as the aggressor. On its part, Pakistan has been denying all along its complicity in sending infiltrators into Kashmir. The actual position is, however, so clear that any impartial agency could testify to it. I would still like to suggest that the aggressor in the recent conflict be identified by some such method.

Pakistan, it seems, is not really interested either in a cease-fire which it grudgingly accepted in form but not in substance, or in the subsequent steps which the Security Council resolution on the subject contemplates, namely, the withdrawal of all armed personnel which includes not only troops but also other infiltrators. Pakistan is pleading instead for immediate steps for bringing about what it describes as a political settlement. Translated into plain words, Pakistan wants the Security Council to give it what neither its armed infiltrators nor its regular troops could give. With this object, Pakistan's Foreign Minister engineered a meeting of the Security Council and tried to have a discussion on the internal situation in Kashmir making all kinds of wild and baseless accusations. Our Foreign Minister made it quite clear that while we were ready to cooperate with the Security Council in the task of restoring peace, we would not

participate in any discussion on matters relating to our internal affairs. When it became clear that Mr. Bhutto could not be restrained from raising matters pertaining to the internal administration of our State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian delegation abstained from taking part in subsequent meetings of the Security Council.

If Pakistan wants an end to the present tense situation, let it first honour and respect the cease-fire agreement. Let it put an end to the daily violations of the cease-fire. Let it then withdraw its armed personnel from our territory and we shall also withdraw our troops from the areas under our occupation in Pakistan. More important than any of these things, let Pakistan stop the various things which it is doing apparently in preparation for a fresh trial of strength. Let it stop the recruitment of irregular forces in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Let it put a stop to the digging of trenches and putting up of military structures which is going on at so many places just across the present cease-fire line. Let it give up its attempts to acquire arms and ammunition. Let it release the goods, the cargo and the vessels it has seized. Let it also give up its collusion with China which is based only on a common hatred for India and is aimed at weakening and disintegrating this country. Let Pakistan, to put it briefly, first restore normal relations before we can discuss how to establish better relations.

Once Pakistan genuinely embarks upon the path of peace, the Government and the people of India will be ready to reciprocate. Unfortunately, all the evidence that we have about Pakistan's intentions shows no sign of any change of heart, any re-thinking, any desire to prefer peace to war. In these circumstances, we have to shape our policy on two planes, as it were. On the one hand, we have to be careful not to allow ourselves to be swayed by the same atmosphere of hatred which the Pakistani leaders have tried to build up, and not to depart from the fundamentals of our policy of peace, of secularism and of economic development. On the other hand, we have to be vigilant and be prepared to meet any threat at any time on any part of our territory.

In our relations with Pakistan, we shall continue to behave in accordance with the canons of civilised society. Pakistan violated all diplomatic immunities by subjecting our High Commission in Pakistan to a search at the point of rifles and bayonets. Even though the movements and activities of the personnel of the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi were restricted, they enjoyed every protection and lived in safety and without molestation of any kind. Rather than retaliate against them, we decided to recall our High Commissioner from Pakistan and it is not our intention to send him back in the immediate future.

There has been a good deal of discussion with regard to the question of payment of our dues under the Indus Waters Treaty. We do not wish to go back on commitments solemnly entered into by us, whether in

regard to the Indus Waters Treaty or under the Kutch Agreement. While we are always ready to meet force with strength, we shall continue to honour our pledged word.

On the plane of preparedness, we are doing all that is necessary. We are fully alive to the fact that at a time of their own choosing Pakistan and its ally China might decide to act against us in concert, and we have, therefore, to be always on our guard against any eventuality. In our defence effort, we want to achieve self-reliance to the maximum extent possible and in the shortest possible time. Our soldiers who are fighting at the front are fully entitled to the best that this country can give them, and in this effort we must not be found wanting.

A new Department of Defence Supplies has been created in the Ministry of Defence with the prime object of locating capacity within the country for those items, whether they are spare parts or components or complete equipment needed for our defence for which we are dependent on imports. Even so, we may have to import either arms or the machinery to produce them. It was this imperative need that made me appeal to our people to subscribe to the Gold Bonds in a massive way. We have got to harness a substantial part of the gold reserves in this country and put them to the service of the nation, if we are to be strong and self-reliant. We have given considerable thought to the new Defence Loans and the National Defence Gold Bond Scheme, which are now in operation, and we have tried to take a practical view and give whatever inducements are possible. In themselves, these schemes are a useful investment, but what is more important, they represent a vital contribution to the nation's defence effort. Our countrymen today are imbued with a fierce determination to offer any sacrifice to make the country strong. I have every hope, therefore, that people will respond suitably to these schemes, and especially the Gold Bonds, in order to attain this objective.

The House would naturally want to know how we view the likely course of future events so far as Indo-Pakistan relations are concerned. Our own position is quite clear. We want to live in peace with Pakistan. We have never taken the initiative in forsaking the path of peace, nor shall we do so in future. We do not want to annex any part of Pakistan's territory. But the restoration of peace and its future preservation can be assured only if Pakistan gives up the stormy course of wanton aggression. We cannot propitiate an aggressor. Threatened as we are with a renewal of aggression, we have to be ever vigilant and ready.

Looking at all the circumstances, there is every possibility that the period of travail which began in August last may continue for a long time. As a nation, we have to be prepared to meet this many-sided challenge. There is, therefore, no room for complacency. At the same time, the experience of the recent past must fill us all with a new confidence.

9. ROAD TO TASHKENT

ON SEPTEMBER 18, I received a communication from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr Kosygin, proposing a meeting in Tashkent between President Ayub Khan and myself under the good offices of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, if the parties so desired, for the re-establishment of peace between India and Pakistan. I sent a reply on September 22 to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in which I agreed to his proposal for a meeting between President Ayub Khan and myself in Tashkent to discuss the question of restoration of peaceful relations between India and Pakistan. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR had sent a similar communication to President Ayub Khan. As could be gathered from President Ayub Khan's communication to Mr Kosygin a summary of which was later published in the Soviet press, the Pakistan President thanked the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for his proposal and made reservations to the effect that the talks could only be held after the ground had been prepared and that this would be done first in the Security Council. I informed the House on September 22 of Mr Kosygin's proposals and our acceptance of it.

On November 16 I was informed by Mr Kosygin that he had received a communication from the Pakistan Foreign Minister on behalf of the President of Pakistan urging that talks between President Ayub and myself should take place in Tashkent as proposed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The Chairman asked for my views on the proposed meeting and as I stated in the House some time back I did not say no to the proposal. At the same time, I made it clear that so far as the Kashmir question was concerned, it was not possible for us to deviate from the position that Kashmir was a part of India and that there was no question of parting with our territories.

Following upon this, there were informal consultations in Moscow between our Ambassador and the Soviet Government and I was also met by the Soviet Ambassador. I received a communication on November 27 from Mr Kosygin in which I was informed that the Pakistan President was prepared to have the proposed talks in Tashkent without any pre-conditions. Certain tentative suggestions were communicated to me about the date of the meeting. I replied to Mr Kosygin agreeing to a meeting in the first week of January 1966, and it has since been announced that this meeting will commence on January 4, 1966.

We on our part have agreed to the Tashkent meeting as we believe in establishing peaceful and good neighbourly relations through discussions. I have made it clear that our discussions in Tashkent should cover the totality of relations between India and Pakistan so that the two countries

can live on the basis of enduring peace and mutual cooperation.

The facts of history and geography make it imperative that India and Pakistan should have harmonious and mutually cooperative relations. We have always believed that war and military conflict cannot provide a real solution to any problem between nations. If Pakistan has agreed to these talks with a genuine realisation that peace is preferable to conflict, the coming meeting at Tashkent may be worthwhile.

I would like, Sir, to take this opportunity also to make a brief report to the House about the present situation on our borders and to inform the House about certain visits abroad which I am scheduled to undertake during the coming weeks.

A situation of uneasy truce still continues on our western borders with Pakistan and, despite a cease-fire agreement, Pakistan is committing violations at different places at different times. Our armed forces have been dealing with this situation with considerable restraint, though naturally they have defended their positions.

In Rajasthan sector, as the House is aware, Pakistan has occupied certain isolated posts subsequent to the cease-fire being effective in complete disregard of the agreement which she has accepted. This situation could not possibly be countenanced. Accordingly, action has been taken to rectify the situation, and some progress has been made.

The Chinese also have stepped up their activities on our frontiers. They have attempted intrusions at a number of places. What their real objectives are, it is difficult to say. It is apparent, however, that they want to maintain an atmosphere of tension all the time and to keep up their pressure.

Altogether, the situation on our frontiers is such as to call for continuous vigilance and the country must remain on guard against the collusive activities of Pakistan and China. Our armed forces are alert and vigilant. We must remember, however, that the situation that we face will not be shortlived.

I would like to inform the House that in the coming weeks I propose to visit the United States of America and the Union of Burma, at the invitation of the Governments of those two friendly countries. I am looking forward to meeting President Johnson and the friendly American people. Between India and the United States of America, there are many things in common. I am confident that my forthcoming talks with President Johnson, which are scheduled to commence on February 1, 1966, would lead to a closer understanding between our two countries and to a better appreciation of each other's point of view. I should like to express my sincere thanks to President Johnson whose decision in regard to accelerated food aid would help substantially in tiding over the present difficult food situation.

The House would recall that, some months ago, we were honoured

by the visit of General Ne Win, President of the Union of Burma. At that time, the President had very kindly invited me to visit Burma and, ever since then, I have been looking forward to visiting this friendly neighbour of ours. I am very glad, therefore, that I would now have the opportunity of doing so very shortly. I shall leave for Burma on the morning of Monday, December 20, and will return to India on the morning of Thursday, December 23.

Important talks lie ahead, and I have no doubt that I shall carry with me the good wishes of all the Honourable Members of this august House. To the people of the countries that I visit, I shall convey the warm good wishes of the people of India. It is our duty and responsibility to explain our attitudes and our policies to the peoples of the world in an endeavour to gain their understanding. I think it is necessary for us to reiterate that India stands firmly for peace and for international amity. We seek friendship with all, more especially with our neighbours. We want to devote our energies to the vital task of developing our economy and improving the living standards of our people. The monies that we spend today on defence, we would much rather spend on fighting poverty, were it not for the serious threat to our territorial integrity all along our frontiers. The problems that will arise will be challenging, and these, I need hardly tell the House, will be attended to with every caution and care.

The country is still passing through critical days. We have to face and overcome difficult internal problems of our own on the food front and also in the matter of resources. I have no doubt that this challenge of the time provides an opportunity for us all to put forth our best. There is fresh thinking everywhere on the part of individuals and also on the part of the nation as a whole. There is a new realisation that we must do on our own as much and as far as possible. Recent months have shown that our greatest strength is the unity of the people. Where national problems are involved, the people of India stand together as one man. I am very thankful to all the political parties for the very cooperative attitude they have adopted in these difficult times. It is my sincere hope that this feeling will continue to be sustained. Let us continue to work together and thus shape our common destiny.

10. A MOMENTOUS MEETING

FIRST OF ALL I want to convey to you, Chairman Kosygin, the feelings of sincere appreciation with which my people, my Government and I hailed your bold initiative which has brought me and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan together in this historic Asian city.

It is with great pleasure that I express on my behalf and on behalf of my delegation our gratitude for the hospitality which has been lavished upon us and the care and attention which has been bestowed upon us.

The great welcome which the people of Tashkent gave us was indeed very moving.

Our response to your invitation for a meeting in Tashkent was immediate and positive. The objective of peace which inspired you is, indeed, a noble one. Peace is vital for both India and Pakistan, and indeed for the world as a whole. It should be our endeavour to try to open a new chapter in India-Pakistan relationship.

I would not like to go into past history. I feel and I am sure President Ayub Khan also feels, that the conflict which took place between our two countries was most unfortunate.

Our objective at this meeting should not be recrimination over the past, but a new look towards the future.

I know that there are many unresolved differences between our two countries. Even between countries with the best of relationship, there are differences and even disputes. The question which we have both to face is whether we should think of force as a method of solving them, or whether we should decide and declare that force will never be used.

If other countries, even those with vast resources and much deeper differences can avoid an armed conflict and live together on the basis of peaceful co-existence, should not countries like India and Pakistan, whose main problem is the economic betterment of their people, give up the idea of solving any problem by recourse to arms?

The only justification for the use of force in international relations is to repel aggression. Our assurance to each other not to use force would mean, therefore, that each agrees to respect the territorial integrity of the other.

We have always said, and I say it today also, that we unreservedly accept Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Equally, we have to preserve our own territorial integrity and sovereignty. Respect for each other's sovereignty is essential for peace and good relations.

Once this has been clearly accepted, the whole character of Indo-Pakistan relationship could be transformed to the benefit of the people of both countries.

Let me say quite clearly and very sincerely that we wish people of

Pakistan progress and prosperity. We have ourselves been striving to better the lives of our people. We are convinced that prosperity would come sooner to the sub-continent if there was better relationship between India and Pakistan.

The foundation of such relationship should be, as I have said, the acceptance of the policy of peaceful co-existence. In pursuance of this, action will have to be taken on several fronts. For instance, the atmosphere of cold war has to be removed.

If through propaganda in the press or by radio a feeling of animosity or distrust is generated and sustained between the two countries, whatever we as heads of the two Governments might say, there will always exist the danger of a conflict.

Our aim should be to improve the totality of the relationship between the two countries. Our trade has been shrinking. It should grow instead. Many rivers flow between India and Pakistan. Instead of being a source of controversy, they could, through cooperative endeavour, enrich both our countries.

There are many other areas of economic cooperation which, given goodwill and understanding, can be developed to our mutual advantage.

In saying all this, I am not trying to suggest that we could or should shut our eyes to the many points of difference that exist between the two countries. I do not want to enumerate them. What I do say, however, is that all these problems must be resolved through talks and negotiations and not by resort to force.

An armed conflict creates more problems than it solves. It is an impediment to understanding and agreement. On the other hand, in an atmosphere of peace we can make real progress towards solving differences between us.

It would be a notable achievement if at this meeting which Chairman Kosygin has convened, an agreement could emerge for renouncing the use of force for settling our differences. This should pave the way for the kind of good neighbourly relations which both countries need, and would also make the solution of many of our problems much easier.

We could and should, of course, discuss other matters as well, but even if we differ on some of them and cannot see our way to an immediate agreement, we should still not forsake the path of peace.

A heavy responsibility lies on our shoulders. The sub-continent has a population of 600 million—one-fifth of the human race. If India and Pakistan have to progress and prosper, they must learn to live in peace. If there is constant conflict and hostility, our peoples would suffer even greater hardships.

Instead of fighting each other, let us start fighting poverty, disease and ignorance. The problems, the hopes and the aspirations of the common people of both the countries are the same. They want not conflict

and war, but peace and progress. They do not need arms and ammunition, but food, clothing and shelter.

If we are to fulfil this obligation to our peoples, we should, at this meeting, try to achieve something specific and positive.

This is a momentous meeting. The eyes of the world are upon us. Let it not be said that the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met and failed to reach an agreement. Let us show by our actions that we are capable of seeing our own problems in the wider context of world events.

11. ON TASHKENT DECLARATION

THE TASHKENT DECLARATION would help reduce tension between India and Pakistan. If there had been no agreement here, tension would have become more acute and it could have led to a greater conflagration. In this broad context, the decision of the two countries to give up the use of force is significant. The whole world, I hope, will acclaim this Declaration as an example of tackling problems which need not stand in the way of mutual understanding and improvement of mutual relations. The Tashkent Declaration is not just a legal document. It is in a way much more than even a political document.

APPENDIX

TASHKENT DECLARATION

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

I

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They consider that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan are not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February, 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

Signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan at Tashkent on January 10, 1966

III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.

VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communication, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners-of-war.

VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other

levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognised the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this Declaration.

